

**THE
SECRET LIFE
— OF —
RONALD REAGAN**

**BY
LARRY FLYNT
&
DONALD FREED**

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

JONATHAN MARSHALL

PARAPOLITICS / USA

The Citizens Research
and Investigation Committee's

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KIRK COOKSON

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(with *ALEX RAKSIN*)

Leading American Authors,
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BRYAN W. STEVENS

EVE PELL

JOHN BRIGHT

ALAN GANSBERG

The Los Angeles Federal Archives
and Records Center
Laguna-Niguel, California

DOROTHY COHEN

Her contribution to
a difficult manuscript
is deeply appreciated.

PATRICIA FREED

With whom alone
the authors reached
their conclusions
in this study.

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Publications distributed exclusively by



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LARRY FLYNT

For the past decade, Larry Flynt has been the vigorous Editor and Publisher of *Hustler* magazine, the nation's most controversial publication, which attracts nearly 10 million readers a month. His outspoken views on important contemporary issues—ranging from the obscenity of war to the horrors of child abuse to the greed of organized religion to America's rampant political and judicial corruption—have continually outraged members of the Establishment. A champion of the First Amendment, he is proud of the fact that he's been imprisoned twice by self-serving prosecutors who have failed to stifle his right to be heard. His other publications include *Chic*, *Gentleman's Companion*, *Hustler Humor* and a spunky new investigative magazine, *The Rebel*—"the newsweekly with a cause." He is also the executive producer of *Hustler Video Magazine* and a soon-to-be-released major motion picture—*No One Here Gets Out Alive*—the biography of rock musician Jim Morrison.

DONALD FREED

Donald Freed is a prize-winning historian and playwright whose play *Inquest*, which dealt with the Rosenberg-Sobell spy case, was produced on Broadway in 1970. *Publishers Weekly* called his novel and film of fact, *Executive Action* (written with Dalton Trumbo and Mark Lane), the "finest" of its kind; and his story of the black-liberation movement, *Agony in New Haven*, is considered to be the definitive work on the period of the late 1960s. In a special project at Yale University he brought together Erik H. Erikson and Huey P. Newton for a historic dialogue and subsequent book, *In Search of Common Ground*. Freed's other significant works include *The Spymaster* (a Book-of-the-Month Club selection); *Death in Washington*, a chilling report on the assassination of a Chilean diplomat; and *Secret Honor* (*The Last Testament of Richard M. Nixon*), which is the first of a series of films and plays for directors Robert Altman and Bill Bushnell. Freed—who has taught at UCLA, the University of Southern California and the University of California at Irvine—is also working on the saga of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 for television, and a book and film on who killed Vicki Morgan, mistress of Reagan "Kitchen Cabinet" member Alfred Bloomingdale.

INTRODUCTION

The secret life of Ronald Reagan—not the private life, the secret life—is, in a real sense, the secret life of America. A shared nightmare.

The thrust or thesis of this book is: America is losing its democratic system and tradition, becoming an “authoritarian” culture (to use Reagan’s euphemistic word for *fascism*). If this should happen to us, we will call our new system “anti-communism.” And our new leaders will not be ranting demons who look like Adolf Hitler; no, they will be sweet guys like Ronnie Reagan.

The new leader will be one sweet guy, with the “Moral Majority” behind him, like Sinclair Lewis’s “Buzz” Windrip and his “Forgotten Men,” or our “Dutch” Reagan.

Buzz was one great writer’s idea of what an American dictator would be like. Buzz Windrip had what was called “The Speech”—so does Dutch Reagan. Can you tell which of the following is from Lewis’s *It Can’t Happen Here*?

While I hate befogging my pages with scientific technicalities and even neologies, I feel constrained to say here that the most elementary perusal of the Economy of Abundance would convince my intelligent student that the Cassandras who miscall the much-needed increase in the fluidity of our currential circulation “Inflation,” erroneously basing their parallel upon the inflationary misfortunes of certain European nations in the era 1919-1923, fallaciously and perhaps inexcusably fail to comprehend the different monetary status in America inherent in our vastly greater reservoir of National Resources.

On January 15 in the White House the President told a group of citizens they were going to take all the money they thought was being unnecessarily spent, “take it from the ‘haves’ and give it to the ‘have nots’ who need it so much.” When Karl Marx said this, he put it: “from each according to his ability, to each according to his need.”

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Buzz's speech was titled "Zero Hour"; Dutch's, "A Time for Choosing." These speeches act as hypnotic incantations.

Neither political scientists nor pollsters prepared us for the Reagan regime. Sinclair Lewis and our other novelists did. From 1900 on they predicted Ronald Reagan and Richard Nixon before him; they prophesied "revolution through Rotary." The crux of the argument that follows is: That Ronald Reagan's regime represents the most extreme, anti-democratic power grab in our history. That violence and secrecy surround Reagan and his men and have since Reagan's Screen Actors Guild presidency in 1947. That the "Creative Society" (Reagan's label for his vision of America—supplied to him by a John Birch Society official) is, when scrutinized, a compendium of covert actions aimed at the establishment of a corporate "authoritarian" state.

A test for Americans in the year 1984: Whose manly and deeply sincere accents are these—Buzz Windrip's or Dutch Reagan's?

So I tell you there are a great many God-fearing, dedicated, noble men and women in public life, present company included. . . .

A number of years ago I heard a young father, a very prominent young man in the entertainment world, addressing a tremendous gathering in California. It was during the time of the Cold War, and communism and our way of life were very much on people's minds. And he was saying, "I love my little girls more than anything." And I said to myself, "Oh, no, don't. You can't—don't say that." But I had underestimated him. He went on: "I would rather see my little girls die now, still believing in God, than have them grow up under communism and one day die no longer believing in God."

There were thousands of young people in that audience. They came to their feet with shouts of joy. They had instantly recognized the profound truth in what he had said, with regard to the physical and the soul and what was truly important.

This book is not a liberal exposé; it is a radical "revisionist" history of a man and his time. It is not the story of the "nice liberal guy" who liberals and the press believed Ronald Reagan to be before he somehow was turned into a smooth conservative. The point at issue in what follows is that *Ronald Reagan was not a "liberal" then, any more than he is a "conserva-*

tive" now. He was and is a weak, vain man whose secret dealings with elements in this country committed to violent and undemocratic strategies of power brought him to his ultimate role as "Leader of the Free World."

If this statement of purpose seems itself to be extreme, raising, as it will, terms such as "criminal" and "fascist," it will rest with the honest reader to decide at the end of the presentation whether or not the case has been overstated.

In a fundamental way this revision of Ronald Reagan is concerned with appearance versus reality. We will be dealing here with "friendly fascism," a new term that tries to get at the root of a certain kind of American official violence and its winning propaganda smile.

Bertram Gross, who coined the term "friendly fascism," gives us a glimpse of a possible future. He sees

a new despotism creeping slowly across America. Faceless oligarchs sit at command posts of a corporate-government complex that has been slowly evolving over many decades. In efforts to enlarge their own powers and privileges, they are willing to have others suffer the intended or unintended consequences of their institutional or personal greed. For Americans, these consequences include chronic inflation, recurring recession, open and hidden unemployment, the poisoning of air, water, soil and bodies and, more important, the subversion of our Constitution. More broadly, consequences include widespread intervention in international politics through economic manipulation, covert action or military invasion. On a world scale, all of this is already producing a heating up of the Cold War and enlarged stockpiles of nuclear and non-nuclear death machines.

I see at present members of the Establishment or people on its fringes who, in the name of Americanism, betray the interests of most Americans by fomenting militarism, applauding rat-race individualism, protecting undeserved privilege or stirring up nationalistic and ethnic hatreds. I see pretended patriots who desecrate the American flag by waving it while waiving the law.

The rhetoric of what finally came to electoral power in 1980 rings through the American novel as nowhere else. The syntax, the hypocrisy, the contempt runs from Elmer Gantry to Jerry Falwell, from Buzz Windrip to Dutch Reagan.

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For the first time in all history a great nation must go on arming itself more and more, not for conquest—not for jealousy—not for war—but for peace! Pray God it may never be necessary, but if foreign nations don't sharply heed our warning, there will, as when the proverbial dragon's teeth were sowed, spring up an armed and fearless warrior upon every square foot of these United States, so arduously cultivated and defended by our pioneer fathers, whose sword-girded images we must be . . . or we shall perish!

You and I have a rendezvous with destiny. We can preserve for our children this the last best hope of man on Earth or we can sentence them to take the first step into a thousand years of darkness. If we fail, at least let our children and our children's children say of us we justified our brief moment here. We did all that could be done.

It Can't Happen Here was Sinclair Lewis's ironic challenge. Yet, in a way, it has *begun* to happen. Part of the problem has been the liberal contempt in which Reagan and his movement are generally held by the "educated class." Not that American humor is not always effective medicine to prescribe for a serious case of American authoritarianism. Take Jules Feiffer or Nicholas von Hoffman. Their diagnoses are very shrewd indeed (and in our best tradition); yet they do not go far enough. We are not afflicted today by some new virus of know-nothing "boosterism" or crackpot chamber-of-commerce hysteria. A much deadlier poison has flowed invisibly out of the tube and into the body politic.

Feiffer correctly identifies Reagan's reality as "Movie America." In Movie America, Knute Rockne exhorts his Notre Dame football team to "win one for the Gipper" (played by Ronald Reagan). In just plain America, Rockne cranked out that same speech, with timely variations, to *each* new season's team. In Movie America, writes Feiffer: "The past is rear projection," and memory is dead. The supply-side fantasies of Movie America dot every Main Street with cozy cottages and cheerful, hardworking, white citizens. In the real America, Reagan's father, like Nixon's, was humiliated and ruined by the Great Depression—a fact that led both Reagan and Nixon to choose brutal, "self made" men as father figures. Everything decent and compassionate in Reagan's or

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Nixon's boyhood appeared under the sign of the mother and was, therefore, forbidden in the man's world of the masculine protest, the male bias, the he-man cult that drives the Dick Nixons and Ronnie Reagans of real America to become, as Nixon put it, "the punching bag on the football team."

"Of such are the back-lot dreams at Warner Brothers made." Movie America, Feiffer concludes, "is a creation born out of disillusion disguised as hope."

Columnist Nicholas von Hoffman identifies Reagan with these kinds of fanatics, with sheepish smiles and too much padding in the shoulders of their sports coats, who know how to "wait their time and know what to do with power when they get it." Feiffer and von Hoffman, at least, take Reagan seriously, as most journalists and liberals have not. The latter characterizes Reagan as "a harsh and dangerous man" who withholds surplus cheese and lard from the undernourished children of the inner city. True, the "Great Communicator" is much more than a "racist crackpot," much more because he is the product of a subculture of secrecy and violence—and it is that subculture which this study has set out to penetrate.

Von Hoffman cites a fragment from "The Speech" that Buzz Windrip or Dutch Reagan would have been proud to claim.

Now there are volunteer groups across the nation called gleaners . . . in California a local charity group . . . works in fields and orchards salvaging . . . produce that would be unpicked or lying on the ground to rot because labor costs have made it uneconomic to salvage . . . don't tell us that we can't cope with our problems, don't tell us that America's best days are behind her.

The speaker could be Buzz or Dutch or the Wizard of Oz (the book was originally a savage American political satire). Yet, when you have studied Reagan's violent, *official* war against Cesar Chavez and the farmworkers of California ("labor costs . . . uneconomic"), you will know to whom to attribute those pitiless words.

How to explain the takeover, the Reagan "mandate"? To use Jack London's phrase: What has come between us and our country? To begin with, there was no mandate demanding a regime of reaction and official violence at home and abroad. Reagan received only a bare majority of the *popular*

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vote, and none of the majority that *refused* to vote—the millions of Americans who, for whatever reason, refused to believe in the claims of either candidate.

Why did the media inform us, falsely, that the country had gone so far Right that, in John Mitchell's words, "we won't recognize it"? Why did the press crown the father of "Reaganomics" with the title "The Great Communicator"? Can anyone seriously credit Reagan's shallow nostalgia, his "Movie America" drivel, with lulling press and country to sleep?

We will see how 35 years of demonology and propaganda drove America into the nervous breakdown that the Great Communicator calls the "Creative Society." The technology, the tube, the technics of advertising and psychological warfare have transformed us from citizens into consumers—not Dutch Reagan from Dixon, Illinois. And yet he is no mere actor or shill mouthing the speeches of some hidden power elite. Reagan is both actor and patient, object and subject of Movie America. *He was not elected on some other planet.* He is the sum of our fears and hates, hidden behind the winning smile and consolatory myth of Movie America. He is a media creation and a passive and empty window dummy, *but he is more.* Reagan turns out to be as much author as actor in our scenario of troubles.

Revisionist Cold War history may well single out Ronald Reagan as one who was central to the failure of content in American film after about 1948. Reagan, John Wayne, Ward Bond, Robert Taylor—all the reluctant anti-fascists of the 1930s—marched into the 1950s to the drum beat of anti-communism. The '50s would be a film era of unspeakable biblical vulgarity and science-fiction paranoia. The enemy was without the walls of Fortress America, or if he was within, it was because of infiltrators from the evil empire waiting to snatch our bodies and souls. The Reagan era raised high the informer and Red-baited the impulses for civil and sexual liberties and rights; anti-intellectualism and anti-humanism rode tall in the saddle while the genius of the film past, symbolized by Charlie Chaplin, was politicized with that hideous Orwellian epithet "premature anti-fascist." For those, like Reagan, whose anti-fascism began precisely in 1941 and ended in 1946, postwar Hollywood was like a bloody arena in a Cecil B. De Mille movie, a killing ground to

settle old scores and bleed deep resentments.

If Reagan and his Blacklist were one of the causes of the repellent chauvinistic cultural collapse of film content of the 1950s, what charge should be leveled at him for the crushing mediocrity that overtook television's early promise? The live drama from New York was translated into the filmed illiteracy of the Music Corporation of America entertainment conglomerate emanating from California's Universal City. MCA: the agency for whom, as we shall see, Reagan sold out the membership of the Screen Actors Guild during his presidency.

Progress was not, as the commercials insisted, the General Electric Company's "most important product." Ronald Reagan—speaking on behalf of the most infantile and primitive consumption—was GE's and MCA's only product. Henry Denker in his novel *The Kingmaker* dramatizes this idea. Instead of GE it's "CM"; instead of Ron it's Jeff:

"Jeff hesitated, took the pages, glanced down at the words typed in the jumbo-size type used for live TV scripts.
JEFFERSON: GOOD EVENING AND WELCOME AGAIN TO CONSOLIDATED STAR THEATRE. I AM JEFF JEFFERSON, YOUR HOST, ON BEHALF OF CONSOLIDATED MOTORS, THE FAMILY OF FINE COMPANIES THAT PRODUCE THOSE FINE CARS AND TRUCKS THAT SUPPLY YOU, YOUR FAMILY AND YOUR BUSINESS WITH THE BEST, THE SAFEST, THE MOST ECONOMICAL TRANSPORTATION IN THE WORLD! JUST AS OUR MOTTO HAS ALWAYS BEEN BETTER, SAFER CARS FOR YOU FROM THE COMPANY THAT CARES, SO WE BRING YOU AND YOUR FAMILY THE FINEST IN HOME ENTERTAINMENT ON CONSOLIDATED STAR THEATRE. BECAUSE WE CARE. AND NOW, OUR STAR THEATRE PRESENTATION THIS EVENING . . . A TOUCHING AND HEARTWARMING STORY, AN AMERICAN CLASSIC, "ALIAS JIMMY VALENTINE!" BUT FIRST. . . .

A corrupt populist like Huey Long (who prophesied that "fascism will come to America on a program of Americanism") or rather, his fictional counterpart, William Stark in Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men*, had too much a tragic dimension of insight for us to quote him here in our

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search for the rest of Ronald Reagan. We must focus on the Buzzes, the Dutches, the Jeffs. Listen to Jeff:

"Now, I would not expect the Governor of this state to be here today. Nor would I expect him to appreciate genuine folks like you. Or to understand your problems. Or try to deal with them. No, he is off in Los Angeles or San Francisco addressing some group of coffee-house hippies and liberals who criticize the free way of life because they feel superior to it. They feel that freedom, about which they talk so much, is meant for them alone, not for the likes of you and me. Or maybe the Governor is meeting with his political cabinet to invent some new vicious lies, to make it seem that the Republicans have plotted in secret to manipulate the people of this state. . . .

"Now, much as I resent these sly accusations, I resent far more one accusation that is aimed not only at me, not only at my staff, but at you! The Governor thinks that you are too naive, too easily used or just too damned stupid to vote intelligently!

"Yes, that's what it comes down to! When he holds up a batch of papers and says they are copies of secret polls we have taken and that we use them to fool you, he is saying that he believes you are stupid, that what you think doesn't matter and shouldn't matter.

"In other words, he feels that you should be ruled, taxed, educated and governed by men who don't know what you want. And what's more, that they should not even be allowed to ask you what you want! Well, I say that is not democratic government!

"If the Governor of this state no longer has faith in the democratic process, if he no longer cares what the people think, then I say he has been Governor too long.

"It's his kind of government, led by a small band of self-anointed liberals, that's stripped our treasury bare, made our taxes insufferable, and produced turmoil in our schools. The Democrats have left the average man and woman, like you and me, hopeless and defeated! Well, you are only defeated if you let yourself be. You can still fight! Join me on election day, and we can make California once again the Golden State!"

Reagan is not a populist like Long or William Jennings Bryan or even George Wallace.

"The day is going to come when we'll need politicians who look like actors," says Jeff's agent in *The Kingmaker*. "Or actors who look like politicians." In real life, Reagan's agents at the Music Corporation of America sold him like a piece of meat after his "friendly" appearance before the House un-American Activities Committee, sold him to the producers as

the man who could "save the industry." Dr. Jules Stein, the philanthropic monster who ruled MCA, was known to have said that since Ronnie Reagan was nobody, he could be anybody. Reagan too knew who he was—nobody. He was a "forgotten man," and he would speak to all that silent and forgotten majority whose GE gadgets and junk had been paid for on time and broken down on schedule: Jiggs and Maggie, Nixon's people, the failed ranchers and cockroach capitalists, the "decent" folk who had learned that there was no free lunch and who were fed up to here with all the bureaucrats and shysters and welfare bums ("well fed," Nixon slipped and called them) in the bad old USA.

The Kingmaker put it this way:

The image of a new kind of politician. A citizen-politician. A man who leaves his regular business pursuits to devote himself to the business of government for a limited time.

To him government isn't as complicated as politicians make it seem. He's got to take the position that basic questions demand basic answers which men with common sense can supply. Government has been in the hands of the politicians too long. The people have to take it back. And he, being one of the people, is the man to do it!

So they had the strategy: Run against "Big Government" ("Gov'ment," Reagan would always say) instead of Big Business, then they'd have the little man on their side and all the backing they needed from the big boys up at Bohemian Grove, up in the Redwoods, where once a year the movers and shakers parade drunkenly—naked in the firelight—piss on the giant trees and choose arrow-collar killers like Ronnie Reagan to lead the "Free World."

It is these he-men that Reagan, like Nixon, chose to worship. In Movie America the sadistic doctor amputated Reagan's legs; in 1950s America, Reagan in a sense married Dr. Loyal (along with his daughter) and found, as he said, the "rest of me."

* * *

What follows is divided into three "Acts": The Actor, The Governor, The President. Each act contrasts the facts of Reagan's secret life since 1946 of covert actions and psycho-

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logical warfare (with vertical bar beside the text) and the official propaganda of the man and his public life (without the vertical bar).

The aim has been to confront the reader, visually, with the stunning contradiction between the media package and the clandestine power-seeker.


Behind the hail-fellow who has no close friends, only extremist millionaire backers, and the loving father, whose children have been virtually banned from the White House, we will find the "real Ronald Reagan." He is born out of our country's hidden recesses. He did happen here, this creature of media and behavior modification; it can happen here.

Listen carefully. Whose warm baritone voice is that you're hearing? Is it Dutch or Buzz whose soothing tones announce the American nightmare? Whose homey appeal to "national security" dares to describe our democratic system as a "luxury" that we can no longer afford?

... Well, human rights, but they [Chile, Argentina] are dealing with terrorists—national security, and they don't have the luxury that we ... but we may have to do it [torture] too. ...

Those words were spoken to a radio reporter in 1980. ...

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

 Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.
October 15, 1947

Sen. J. Parnell Thomas
Chairman
Committee on Un-American Activities
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

PERSONAL

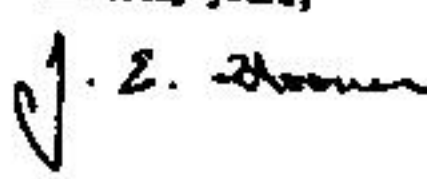
Dear Mr. Thomas:

I understand that the President of the Screen Actors Guild, Mr. Ronald Reagan, is to testify soon before the House Un-American Activities Committee. As you know, Mr. Reagan has been extremely useful to us in uncovering Communist infiltration into the Hollywood film world.

Since the FBI is interested in further assistance from Mr. Reagan, you will readily understand that in my view his testimony needs careful handling. I recommend that a member of your staff should have a preliminary rehearsal with him so that he is fully prepared for the questions with which he will be faced.

In particular, Mr. Reagan has been asked to mention neither names nor specific links between individuals and the Communist Party, and it is of serious concern to the FBI that Committee members should be restrained from pressing him too hard in this respect.

I highly appreciate your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,


ACT I

THE ACTOR

This is America—a town of a few thousand, in a region of wheat and corn and dairies and little groves.

The town is, in our tale, called "Gopher Prairie, Minnesota." But its Main Street is the continuation of Main Streets everywhere. The story would be the same in Ohio or Montana, in Kansas or Kentucky or Illinois, and not very differently would it be told Up York State or in the Carolina hills.

Main Street is the climax of civilization. That this Ford car might stand in front of the Bon Ton Store, Hannibal invaded Rome and Erasmus wrote in Oxford cloisters. What Ole Jenson the grocer says to Ezra Stowbody the banker is the new law for London, Prague and the unprofitable isles of the sea; whatsoever Ezra does not know and sanction, that thing is heresy, worthless for knowing and wicked to consider.

Our railway station is the final aspiration of architecture. Sam Clark's annual hardware turnover is the envy of the four counties which constitute God's Country. In the sensitive art of the Rosebud Movie Palace there is a Message, and humor strictly moral.

Such is our comfortable tradition and sure faith. Would he not betray himself an alien cynic who should otherwise portray Main Street, or distress the citizens by speculating whether there may not be other faiths?

—*Main Street*, Sinclair Lewis (1936)

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"Good evening, Mr. Reagan."

"Good evening, Louis. This is Miss Nancy Davis. She's a newcomer to Hollywood."

The captain led them to a preferred table upstairs. LaRue's on the Sunset Strip was one of the very best restaurants in town—French, expensive and with a view overlooking the low roofs and lights of the city. They settled in, Nancy making a little joke about her French, while Ronnie pointed out his favorites on the menu. He made her laugh; he told her about how the film director Mervyn LeRoy had played a practical joke involving a puppy on Jack Warner. Nancy blushed and giggled in her fetching fashion, so old-fashioned that it had immediately provoked Ronnie's interest.

"Mr. LeRoy's been like a second father to me. He insisted on calling you about my little problem."

"I'm sure glad that he did too. Now about that problem."

Nancy's problem was simple. Someone with the same name, Nancy Davis, was affiliated with certain peace and civil-rights groups. These groups appeared on the Attorney General's list of "un-American Organizations." Thus, the "real" Nancy Davis (another of Ronnie's patented jokes; they were coming one after another so that her musical giggle made the waiter smile), the real Nancy Davis—the "little Republican from Chicago"—found herself on the dreaded Hollywood Blacklist.

The food was better than anything in Chicago, she said, and would he please tell her what this Blacklist was all about. He did—at length. He loved to talk, and she loved to listen to him talk, even to watch him talk. He told her about how he, as President of the Screen Actors Guild (SAG), worked with other stars like William Holden, George Murphy, Robert Montgomery, Edward Arnold and Adolph Menjou.

"It's an all-star cast," he quipped.

"It is!" she agreed.

Anyway, all of these SAG big names worked together to make sure that anyone falsely named as a Communist would not find his name on the Blacklist. Did she see how this was the opposite of a Blacklist, how it was, in fact, a "Whitelist"?

She did, and that reminded her of her father. Her adoptive father, actually, was Dr. Loyal Davis of Chicago. Loyal T.

Davis, they had called him. ("Loyalty Davis, that's very good.") Unlike her real father, Dr. Loyal was a very strong man—a famous surgeon and a deeply "conservative" political activist. And that reminded her of the doctors in *King's Row*, Ronnie's best film, everyone agreed, and her personal favorite. He told her about the film and how the town in which it took place was like Dixon, Illinois, where he had grown up. "Nixon, Illinois?" she asked, quite seriously, because he had been talking with an asparagus in his mouth. Now it was his turn to laugh.

"Dixon," he said in a manly baritone, "Dixon, Illinois." He had known when he opened the book that he would be at home in King's Row.

The green distances of the land were gashed and scarred with wandering roads, lumpy and deep-rutted from the heavy wheels that had groaned and strained through the winter mud. These roads . . . were like the strands of a gigantic web, weaving and knitting closer and closer until they reached a center—King's Row, the county seat. "A good town," everyone said. "A good, clean town. A good town to live in and a good place to raise your children."

In the sagging center of this web of roads King's Row presented an attractive picture as one drove in from the country. Elms, oaks and maples arose in billows of early-summer green. The white steeple of the Methodist church, the gilt weather vane of the Baptist and the slender slate-covered spire of the Presbyterian thrust high. In the center arose the glistening dome of the courthouse. A few mansard roofs and an occasional turret broke through the leaves. Outside the comfortable shade a straggle of unconsidered Negro shacks and tumble-down houses of poor whites lay like backyard debris.

He went on from the fictional town to the real towns and villages of his youth and how it was that Main Street ran straight as a die through a Christian college and a radio station all the way to Hollywood and stardom.

"Tell me the whole story," she sighed.

In 1920 Dixon was a community of 10,000 located on the Rock River about a hundred miles west of Chicago. Driving into town on the Lincoln Highway from the surrounding rolling hills, you headed into the business district. The main street—then, as now—was Galena Avenue. Hovering over it was the rustic memorial arch, built of wood, to honor the dead of World War I. Today the river is too polluted for swimming.

His real challenge, he confided shyly to her, was not in the classroom but on the football field. "I couldn't see the ball well enough to catch it, and I was too small at first to play in the line. But the game was a matter of life and death. Every year at the beginning of the football season you were kind of ready for summer to end. You'd begin to think about the smell of burning leaves. The new high-school uniforms would be put on display in a store downtown. Your heroes were the high-school stars. They seemed like grown men. To make the high-school team was your goal and aim in life. Everything is a game except football. It is the last thing in our civilized life where a man can physically throw himself, his full body, into combat with another man."

Nancy wanted to hear more. Ronnie hadn't had so much fun in months. Well, he told her, almost every afternoon between April and September in the mid-'30s, "I sat behind a desk in a six-by-eight studio on the first floor of radio station WHO, the National Broadcasting Company's affiliate in Des Moines, Iowa. In front of me was a big square microphone with the call letters—the H flanked by flashes of lightning—printed on the sides. With my hair still parted in the middle and combed back in the pompadour style of the times, I waited impatiently for a Western Union operator in the next room, visible through a big window, to hand me a piece of paper through a slot.

"On the paper was written a brief description of the action in the Chicago Cubs or White Sox baseball game that was being played more than a hundred miles away. 'Hartnett singles to right' might be typed on the paper, the bare outline of an exciting moment at Wrigley Field. And it was up to me to reconstruct from this a vivid word picture of what was happening at the ballpark. I had already described the pitcher, looking toward first, winding up and throwing the ball. All I had to work with was one brief sentence. From my imagination I filled in the rest.

"Now the engineer, who also read the message, cracked a small bat on a piece of wood, imitating the sound of Gabby Hartnett's bat hitting the baseball. And then he turned up the volume of a phonograph record of crowd noises so it sounded like the thousands who were yelling at Wrigley Field. At the crack of the bat I would tell how Hartnett scrambled down the first-base line, describing the chagrin of the

opposing pitcher. My voice would rise in excitement as I told—still from my imagination—how the right fielder threw the ball back into the infield and Hartnett wisely held up at first base. Then I would picture how the opposing manager walked out to the mound, held a worried conversation with the pitcher and returned to the dugout. Finally, the Western Union operator would begin typing out another message he was receiving from Chicago, and I would have the pitcher go into his stretch again, faking the action until I was handed news of the latest play. Some of those who heard me re-create these games still recall my performances.

"In the WHO studio, in Des Moines, I began the training that took me to Hollywood. Those were the days of radio and guys like me who liked to talk. How I could talk. The Western Union wire was hooked up to my mouth." He grinned again and put on a phony accent. "This is how I perfected my speaking ability and learned how to sell soap, cars and major-league baseball by the power of my voice."

No doubt about it, he had been one of the best play-by-play men in the Midwest, a nonstop talker. "Yeah," he grinned crookedly, "I could lie for hours at a time and get paid for it."

"Oh, you," Nancy giggled.

"No," he said, "I always say that football is life, because it is one of the last places where two men can throw themselves on each other and then be friends afterwards."

By the time their apple tart was served, Ronnie had finished up with his life story. The restaurant was almost empty, but each mentioned having a "grand time." In her girlish manner, Nancy told him about her mother, the former actress, and the wealthy and wonderful Dr. Loyal. Ronnie listened intently. Dr. Davis seemed a very different man from his own father. Anyway, he said, a lot depends on being in the right place at the right time. Did she believe in horoscopes?

"I don't know. Tell me about them."

He did—at length. They lingered over coffee while he told her how the "stars" consulted the stars before making major decisions, especially Louella "Lolly" Parsons. Nancy gasped with interest. They both admired the potent movie columnist.

"She'll be at Ciro's tonight because Sophie Tucker's opening there. Do you want to go?" She certainly did, and on

the way he told her about his being president of the Screen Actors Guild and all the political troubles Hollywood faced.

"While I was away in the war, the movie business got infiltrated by mob-controlled unions. When I got back from the service, I rejoined the SAG board, and we got into the scrap and helped the union clean its own house. So just when things settled down, the Commies in the rival unions start striking the studios. Again, SAG is in the middle trying to get some peace. Now the Reds are after us: 'Ronnie, George and Eddie'—that's George Murphy and Eddie Arnold—like we were a vaudeville team. But it wasn't funny, and it's still going on. But people are waking up. Take me. I was a near-hopeless hemophiliac liberal. I bled for 'causes' like my dad; he was an FDR man all the way. Even last year I voted for Truman. . . ."

There were *big* stars that night at *Ciro's*; so Ronnie's table was jammed along the wall. Sophie Tucker thrilled them with her "Last of the Red Hot Mamas" routine—much of it borrowed from the great black blues singer, Bessie Smith. But Ronnie and Nancy only knew that this was a brassy night of laughter, fun and, above all, good talk.

In between shows she said she'd stay on to see the late performance if he'd tell her more about the intrigue and excitement of SAG against the Communists. They were able to get a choice table, near ringside, as the big names left and the gaudy room emptied.

"... Now the way our bloodhounds at SAG have pieced it together, the Red plot is: (1) to create paralyzing strikes on whatever pretext possible; (2) at the height of the paralysis to put through a plan to blanket the workers in the studios under one huge union—which was to be adopted by Harry Bridges's Longshoremen group (Bridges was a Red, Ronnie confided); (3) while siphoning off the money to gradually work into the movies a host of propaganda attitudes that would soften the American public's hardening attitude toward communism."

After 3 a.m., Sophie Tucker joined Ronnie and Nancy for a heavy snack. They talked about the picture business, and Ronnie told her how it reminded him of how he finally made the football team back in Dixon, Illinois. "That's Dixon, not Nixon—" Nancy gave out with a peal of laughter, and Sophie chuckled and coughed.

It was very late when Ronnie dropped Nancy off at her Westwood apartment. "I hope I didn't talk your ear off," he said.

"No," she said, looking up into his crooked, little-boy grin, "I liked it."

* * *

That was a dramatized sample, from the records, of the official version of Ronald Reagan, actor and Screen Actors Guild president. He did grow up in Dixon, Illinois. Not much else is true.

He did make the football team in high school, but only after "receiving" the varsity book of plays. This pilfered intelligence allowed him to shine on second-string defense against the first team. Adolescent dirty tricks would be of no importance if it were not emblematic of so much to come.

It is also true that Reagan's father was a fair-minded, egalitarian man who believed in justice for the poor and oppressed. But like Richard Nixon's father, Jack Reagan was a failed small-business man. Reagan remembers his father's failures and drinking with obvious humiliation, and he came almost to worship his second wife's stepfather, Dr. Loyal Davis.

An ultra-right political activist and famous neurosurgeon, Dr. Davis was a notorious martinet to his students at Northwestern University, constantly prowling the lavatories on the lookout for unflushed toilets. His racism was so obvious that rebellious interns persuaded many black-ghetto mothers to name their sons "Loyal." In his autobiography Dr. Davis wrote: "It is a favorite saying that one citizen is as good as another." But this, he continued, was an "opportunisticly" proclaimed platitude of "do-gooders."

Nancy Davis's mother gave up her acting career to play the role of a society doctor's wife in Chicago, except for one strange interlude during World War II when she worked as an undercover police agent. But daughter Nancy was never really an actress; she thought of herself as Dr. Loyal's daughter. She had that in common with her future husband. Reagan too went into politics with a

passion that he had never exhibited for acting.

The Screen Actors Guild was a joke to Reagan when he arrived in Hollywood. But it became his first springboard to power. By 1946 the anti-labor Reagan was using the guild as an arena of politics. For Reagan to rise in an environment in which the studio powers were either Jewish or anti-fascist—or both—he had no choice but to adopt a “liberal” cover. But not for long. He did not fool everyone even then.

Reagan, who had spent the war years as a Captain making propaganda films for the Air Force, had learned his lesson well. He began to think of himself as a military man. The elements of his extreme ideology were coming together.

Remember what politics and what period we are talking about: Pressure from the business-backed “un-American Activities” group had forced the Roosevelt Administration to initiate an Attorney General’s list of “subversive organizations” and a new system of “loyalty checks.” As the war drew to a close and the Soviet Union was changed almost overnight from ally to Cold War adversary, the anti-Communist campaign from the 1920s and 1930s was renewed. In January 1945 the House un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)—through a surprise move by House conservatives—was made a standing, rather than merely a special, committee. It conducted a free-swinging investigation of Hollywood.

During the “nightmare decade” of 1947-1960 Congressional hearings and long, torturous “loyalty” and “security” investigations became the tools of a modern-day Inquisition. Under the whiplash of the House un-American Activities Committee, Senator Joseph McCarthy, J. Edgar Hoover, Richard Nixon and various right-wing extremist groups purged, blacklisted and broke dissenters, and stifled liberal or radical ideas in government, academia and the media.

Careers were wrecked; people ended up in jail. With its liberal wing demoralized, the Democratic Party lost its Congressional majority in the 1946 elections. Richard Nixon rode roughshod out of the American underground to spread a gospel of hate and fear. Young men on the make began to shoot off their mouths about

the "Red menace" and, as they say in show business, it played in Peoria. Nixon went to Congress pledged to ferret out the Reds in the labor movement. The Reds were easy to spot—they were the ones demanding higher wages.

What should be recalled is that Nixon and Reagan came out of the service at the same time and each fanatically plunged into exploiting the same anti-Communist climate to build a base of power. But Reagan's plan was secret and would go to much greater extremes than Nixon's. We now know that Reagan clung to his SAG liberal credentials as a shell to hide covert relationships that developed in 1947 with Nixon and the House un-American Activities Committee, the FBI and major film producers. Reagan became a symbol of what has been called "the politics of resentment." We know that he had become very bitter during the war as his stardom faded from the public mind. According to a publicist who worked with him, Reagan often made references to "Jews and Commies" taking over the industry.

Reagan's only context before, during and after the Air Force was violent conflict: football; a range of mainly B action films; war and all its images on film and in television. In his discussion of "friendly fascism," Bertram Gross has written that the

central domain of terror continues to be the "symbolic environment." While the myths and fantasies of popular culture are replete with opiatelike images of virtue or cleverness rewarded, boy getting girl, girl getting riches, and everyone getting pie in Pollyanna's sky, more "realistic" imagery is used to sell movies to audiences and TV audiences to advertisers. Symbolic violence gets and keeps attention. And despite sporadic gestures toward "cooling it," the long-term tendency seems to be toward escalation.

"The world of television drama is, above all, a violent one," report George Gerbner and Larry P. Gross, the two most assiduous monitors of American TV. "More than half of all characters are involved in some violence, at least one-tenth in some killing, and three-fourths of prime time hours contain some violence." The net effect of this tendency, as Gerbner and Gross point out, may be "a demonstration of power and an instrument of social serving, on the whole, to reinforce and preserve the existing social order." Although their emphasis is on the preservation of the status quo, their analysis clearly suggests that an increase in symbolic violence could help usher in a new

10 THE SECRET LIFE OF RONALD REAGAN

serfdom of fear, anxiety and simultaneous identification with the unconstrained and violent forces of "law."

This was Ronald Reagan's atavistic, anachronistic world. He had been a bit player in the war against fascism. In the coming war against communism he would play a leading role.

During 1949 and 1950, under the watchful eye of Louella Parsons's gossip column, Ronnie and Nancy became a Tinseltown team. Friends from those days remember that Ronnie talked and Nancy listened. His real concern was SAG politics—not quite to the exclusion of his career and his children by his first marriage. He and his SAG team were true believers that the Red menace was more dangerous to the movie business and the mental health of the country than even the crime-corrupted film construction and craft unions of the early and middle 1940s had been.

So Nancy listened and told Ronnie about Dr. Loyal and his lifelong battle against "socialized medicine of any kind." Dr. Loyal had been in the Far East during the war, a friend of General MacArthur and his chief of intelligence, Charles Willoughby. Those stalwarts had alerted him to the loss of China to the Reds. Now, back in Chicago, Dr. Loyal was an activist in the anti-Communist cause. So Nancy understood Ronnie. When he told her about the threats on his life and how he had to carry a gun, she looked up to him as if he were ten feet tall.

* * *

Reagan, a young sports announcer, arrived in Hollywood in the 1930s to play a young sports announcer in a film. He soon became involved in Screen Actors Guild politics. Reagan has written how he visited a SAG meeting and, seeing luminaries such as James Cagney, Robert Montgomery, George Murphy, et al., was "sold on the idea right away. . . . I saw the famous men of the business. I knew then I was beginning to find the rest of me." Before, he had been hostile to organized labor.

When Reagan entered SAG politics, joining the board in 1938, Hollywood was convulsed with anti-fascist fears. The large, influential Jewish community was gathering around great legitimate stage and screen ac-

tors such as Paul Muni and Edward G. Robinson to send an industry message to President Roosevelt that Hollywood was militantly anti-fascist. Reagan was *not* an active anti-fascist as he has tried to argue: He was an active SAG member. From 1937 on he was deeply involved in SAG's attempts to mediate the various craft unions' strike activity against the major studios.

The final months of the war brought two developments that would have a profound effect on Reagan's thinking. One was the personnel situation at "Fort Roach, California" (as they called the film division headed by producer Hal Roach), where Reagan was growing restive under the government's command. Civilian workers had been ordered to serve as advisers at the post, which was chronically understaffed with servicemen. And Reagan was unhappy with federal regulations that prevented him, as personnel officer and adjutant, from firing the incompetent or unneeded ones.

The second development concerned the troubled Hollywood labor conditions of the postwar period. Two powerful union groups—the Conference of Studio Unions and the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees—were fighting for control of the studio workers; and Reagan's union, the Screen Actors Guild, was trying to help settle the dispute. Reagan would rejoin the board of the Screen Actors Guild after his discharge on September 12, 1945, and became one of the union's most vocal leaders.

In summary: In the 1930s Reagan was anti-union, had scorned SAG, then joined after seeing the "great men" who led it. SAG was left-liberal and anti-fascist in the '30s and '40s; so Reagan adapted to that tone. To be elected to the board in 1946 he *had* to lobby and carry liberal support; for that reason and that reason only he maintained anti-fascist credentials while putting all of his secret energies into Red-hunting. His liberalism, we shall soon see, was an act.

The propaganda version of Reagan's mediating efforts is that he and his circle first fought against Mob-controlled unions and then Communist-controlled unions. In point of fact, Reagan began his pivotal relationship with elements of the Teamsters in the late '30s—

criminal elements that today are to be found close to his national Cabinet. Then as now, the Teamsters followed the Mob's anti-Communist line. As for the "Red unions" (Reagan's term), SAG relied on informers working with the infamous California Senate Fact-Finding Committee. Reagan came back from his filmmaking chores for the U.S. Air Force, burning to "bring about the regeneration of the world I believed in."

Hollywood was fervently anti-fascist in 1945, and "message" films such as *Key Largo*, *Gentleman's Agreement*, *Boomerang* and *Pinky* should have helped to take the country into a decade of anti-fascism at home. Instead, under the SAG presidency of Ronald Reagan and his loyalists, the 1950s became the "Time of the Toad"—in Dalton Trumbo's epithet—the decade of Cold War, anti-communism and the Blacklist.

That Reagan was the major studios' man in SAG is clear from his autobiography. Warner Brothers, for instance, closed down the entire production of a film featuring Reagan so that SAG's president could go to Chicago to try to settle the labor dispute raging between the unions the studios favored and the more militant left-wing unions. While not Communist, these unions were militant enough to panic the major producers.

The financial stakes were high for the industry. In 1946 a thousand strikers rioted outside of Reagan's home studio, Warner Brothers. Reagan and his followers crossed picket lines, claiming that a left-wing provocation had sparked the violence. Years later, researchers learned that it was Warner Brothers and the Reagan forces that had manufactured a false document to "prove" a Red reason for the union rebellion. The revelation came in a document called the Kearns Report and bears analysis.

According to one of the founders of SAG, John Bright, Reagan was "up to his neck" in the labor violence. "We knew in advance that Reagan's pal Johnny Rosselli [the notorious gangster] and his goons intended to terrorize strike leaders," Bright remembers. "And they did. They even went after the wives and kids—they were filth, and yet Reagan met with Rosselli and the studio's lawyers! Then *he* carried a gun around claiming

the 'Commies' were out to get him. And when Reagan led the strikebreakers across the picket lines at Warner's, they had studio goons carrying submachine guns—and the cops who escorted them in stood by. I'm saying that Ronald Reagan met, conferred with, conspired, however you want to say it, with a known killer, one of the worst hoods in the country. That was his friend Johnny Rosselli, and for years after that they used to meet to visit at the Friars Club."

It was Warner Brothers, his employer, that gave Reagan a police guard and the .32 Smith & Wesson revolver that he always carried. He had become a strikebreaker, a *union* strikebreaker, and an industry agent.

Even as keen a Reagan supporter as the *Wall Street Journal* in 1980 wrote that:

As president of SAG from the spring of 1947, Mr. Reagan played a more complicated role than he now seems to remember. He recently described the blacklists as the result of a boycott list "sent to Hollywood by religious groups and patriotic organizations" and claimed that the most effective blacklist of all was run by Communists against their enemies. But Hollywood producers had indeed reached agreement, in the so-called "Waldorf Declaration," not to hire Communist Party members or uncooperative witnesses before HUAC [the House un-American Activities Committee].

Reagan was at the hub of a wheel whose spokes included the producers, the FBI, HUAC, Richard Nixon and his network of fanatic anti-Communists and, centrally, the media: gossip-mongers, Hearst Corporation columnists, extremists and apologists for anti-labor Big Business interests. As in Europe in the 1930s, a curious connection existed between racist and fascist or neo-fascist interests and the frantic whirl of entertainers and their hangers-on in New York or Hollywood. The wheel began to spin faster and faster for Reagan.

* * *

Typical of the manufactured fan-magazine fluff that enhanced Reagan's image were the following sentences appearing in Cal York's "Inside Stuff" column that *Photoplay* ran in its May 1947 issue.

A salute to Reagan. It seems to Cal that of all people who have become motion-picture actors, Ronald Reagan has taken firmer and more solid roots as a citizen who takes his responsibilities conscientiously and even weightily. He neither flinches nor falls down on duties that mean the advancement of what he believes to be right. In short, he is a sincere American who can be counted on one-hundred percent.

Ronald hails from Dixon, Illinois, and as a typical American lad worked as lifeguard and radio sports announcer. We telephoned him recently with a message from the lovely Helen Altschuler, formerly of Dixon. He was instantly delighted, recalled how he had taught her daughter Sidney to swim and was pleased to hear that daughter was now a very pretty matron.

It is this quality, we decided, plus his civic pride, that has made Reagan a respected and admired citizen. And while the career of his wife Jane Wyman has zoomed with *The Yearling*, his own has progressed with *Night Unto Night* and *Stallion Road*. And for an unblemished marital record, we again salute a splendid gentleman!

* * *

The shrewdest insight into Reagan's SAG years was written in 1974 in *Nation* magazine by Daniel J. Biederman. The social analyst picks up Reagan's story with a 1966 telephone interview broadcast from Los Angeles. During the interview Reagan reminded fellow Californians of his leading role in the state's anti-Communist crusades of the 1940s. He was especially proud of his part in crushing the 1945-48 Hollywood strike conducted by the Conference of Studio Unions (CSU) against its jurisdictional rival, the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees (IA)—which became the sole source of skilled labor for Hollywood's studios after the CSU lost its strike. Speaking in a calm, deliberate tone of voice, Reagan told the radio audience why he opposed the American Federation of Labor (AFL) locals belonging to the youthful, progressive, democratically run CSU and sided with the old-line, conservative and autocratic IA—an AFL union run by Chicago racketeers from 1934 to 1942. The following quote is from a tape recording of the broadcast.

My terms in office with the Guild were kind of when the feathers hit the fan. My first term as president was when the Conference of Studio Unions, a sort of rump labor organization head-

ed by Herb Sorrell, brought almost a close to the entire [motion-picture] industry. This has since been documented as the attempt by the Communist Party to gain economic control of the industry, and the Screen Actors Guild was the key force that kept the studios open . . . and we succeeded, and in that particular battle we soundly defeated the Communist attempt to a takeover and brought peace to the industry.

In October 1945 the CSU's wartime walkout had reached a climax when Warner Brothers displayed its renowned "good citizenship" and reputation for making "liberal" message movies by having the studio fire and police departments train high-pressure water hoses and lob tear-gas grenades at thousands of film workers while Warner studio executives hurled nuts and bolts at them from the tops of studio roofs. A month later a "law-and-order" committee of the California legislature set itself the task of discrediting the CSU, and incidentally rebuking the administration of the University of California at Los Angeles for failing to prohibit students from marching on the Warner Brothers picket line and for permitting a Communist presence on campus. Serving as secretary to the committee was Murray M. Chotiner, who later managed Richard M. Nixon's several political campaigns in California. The highlight of the hearings, and a harbinger of procedures to be adopted by the House un-American Activities Committee, came when the liberal Democrat, State Assemblyman and actor Albert Dekker was accused of corrupting the minds of California's youth and ejected from the UCLA hearing room.

Biederman points to the "inevitable" ramifications of Reagan's actions:

An inevitable consequence of the strike was an investigation in 1946 by State Senator Jack Tenney's "little Dies" committee—a HUAC offspring whose star-chamber tactics outshone those of its parent. (Martin Dies was a fervent Red-baiter of his day.) Tenney's committee invented a Communist conspiracy in order to expose it. Overlooking the fact that the Communists opposed the 1945 walkout because it violated labor's wartime no-strike pledge, it issued a crimson-covered report which concluded that the Hollywood strike was provoked and directed by Communists. These distorted findings are what Reagan relied upon to prove that the "influence of the Communists on

the 1945-47 strike" was "irrefutably documented." Senator Tenney's own career hit bottom when he later became the running mate on a Presidential ticket headed by the anti-Semitic Gerald L. K. Smith.

The *Nation* study follows still further the implications of Reagan's Red-hunt.

"Tenney's probe stirred up more labor strife than it squelched. It brought little peace to the Los Angeles community, which was disrupted and divided by the largest number of mass arrests and mass trials in American labor history. Hundreds of film strikers were arrested daily in late 1946 and early 1947 by Los Angeles police, who were often on studio payrolls. (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer bought up the entire Culver City police force.) Their trials, in groups of 40 and 50 and held in municipal auditoriums, clogged the courts for many months—a legal ballyhoo that was aptly described by *Life* magazine as 'justice, Hollywood style.' "

By the spring of 1947 the clamor raised by the strike had spread beyond California. Los Angeles newspapers reported that Rep. Fred Hartley's labor committee would appoint its freshman California congressman, Richard M. Nixon, as a one-man subcommittee to conduct an on-the-spot investigation of the studio strike. But Father George F. Dunne, a labor-relations expert at Loyola University, persuaded Hartley to limit his inquiry to the labor aspects of the strike and leave the issue of communism to HUAC investigators. Hartley finally appointed conservative congressman Carroll D. Kearns (R-Pennsylvania), who was unaffiliated with HUAC and unacquainted with California politics.

The Kearns committee hearings in August and September of 1947 were broadcast by Los Angeles radio, and hundreds of Californians crowded into the hearing room to hear the testimony of film executives, labor officials, back-lot workers and SAG officials Ronald Reagan, George Murphy and Edward Arnold. Kearns discovered "secret minutes," detailing meetings at which the heads of Hollywood's leading film companies conspired with top IA officials to provoke the so-called CSU strike of September 1946. It was then that some 8,000 members of the CSU were "locked out" of their jobs at the nine

major studios. The IA had promised these studios a steady supply of replacement workers several weeks before this event. Kearns's efforts to secure the survival of the CSU through mediation collapsed. He then reconvened his committee's hearings in Washington in early 1948 and issued an interim report based upon the 1,000-page transcript of the proceedings in Los Angeles in which the continuing dispute in Hollywood was described as a "lockout" brought about by the producers' collusion with the IA!

The man who carried a gun out of fear of a Communist assault was himself now proven to be an agent-provocateur, one of the authors of the "secret minutes" blamed for the violence at the studios.

Gene Kelly, the great dancer, was one of the most interesting commentators of this critical period in Reagan's political development. "He had talks with me," Kelly remembers. "He said, 'Why did you join that organization? It's a Communist front!' He wasn't a liberal then.

"When fellows that are working this hard can't hew to the facts, then they must be emotionally upset . . . otherwise I don't think that they would make bad statements of fact in their own books. For instance, Reagan in his book says, 'Gene Kelly's a friend of Sorrell's.' I wasn't a friend of Sorrell's at all. I didn't even know him. I only met him at these meetings . . . he got up . . . and had a sense of humor which Reagan never had at that time. I think he's acquired it. . . .

"Reagan was very emotionally upset. All the time. He would go into tirades about communism, and at one time he was carrying a gun, according to his own statement, and imagining that a lot of things would happen. Now he might have been threatened. I don't know. But so highly exaggerated that it was hard to make logic. I do know that they weren't as intelligent as they were emotional. . . . You couldn't talk to Murphy or Reagan about anything without them saying, 'The Communists are going to take over.' Everything was so completely clouded by the [fear that the] Russians are coming, the Russians are coming."

The revision of Reagan's liberal and union creden-

tials is founded on the findings of the committee hearings chaired by Congressman Kearns, the conservative Republican from Pennsylvania. His committee concluded: (1) There was no Communist plot to disrupt the Hollywood studios; that was a cynical, calculated Reagan lie and a betrayal of his official union role; (2) there was a studio-crime union plot to destroy their radical union competition, and Reagan was one of its chief authors and actors. Reagan and Rosselli, the studio's mobster, remained close friends until Rosselli's murder in the mid-'70s. His body was found immediately after he gave testimony of his knowledge of the assassination of President Kennedy to a Senate select committee. Also murdered after he testified was gangster Sam Grancana, an intimate of Frank Sinatra and Rosselli, and a friend of Reagan's (he was his guest at the Friars Club on trips to the Coast).

For the rest of his career Reagan's brand of anti-communism would include deceit, provocation, violence, denial and blame. "Anti-Communist labor" would mean to him, as it did at Warners, supporting the Teamsters and crime-infested unions.

He, Reagan, would be in front, gun in hand, the hero under siege, the Red horde advancing—that was to be the scenario from Hollywood to Nicaragua.

* * *

Your love of sports has given you a clean mind, to say nothing of a clean body. How well I know! Two baths and two bath towels a day. Remind me to tell you a bedtime story about the laundry situation. Your room is always neat, everything you own in immaculate order. You never even put away a pair of shoes without first buffing them. You're a sentimentalist: You remember holidays; you'll never forget an anniversary. On these occasions you buy me presents, and a card always comes with them. I love these cards, and I save them. They're witty and tender. You write as well as you act—and jump horses.

If you promise to do something, you never go back on your word. On the other hand, you're a past master at postponing (in case you didn't notice it—I hired a man to move the dog house and clean out the garage). You try to hide what you're thinking when I indulge in my favorite indoor sport of rearranging the furniture. I guess the only thing we heartily disagree on is dancing—together. We get along so beautifully with

other partners, but I suspect that I unconsciously do the leading. You never say anything.

—Jane Wyman, *Movies*, August 1947

* * *

From the late '30s on, Reagan was working closely with a range of powerful columnists, including Louella Parsons (who represented the Hearst interests) and the rabid Roosevelt-hater Westbrook Pegler. Reagan was a consultant "source" for anti-union writers and press, leaking confidential information to them, gathered from privileged meetings and minutes of SAG in its negotiations with the warring unions. In return, Reagan enjoyed special favors and support from the right-wing press and the corporate heads of the studios and talent agencies. But what makes all this dealing remarkable is that during the period of 1945-1950 Reagan insisted publicly that he was a liberal—an anti-Communist liberal, but a liberal nonetheless.

Al Levitt, who served with Reagan in the "Culver City commandos" during World War II, says, "I remember the time there was a strike by one of the local utility companies, and one day he came into the office in a raging fury apparently because of the inconvenience [the strike] had caused him. I remember saying to myself, 'What kind of a liberal would react that way to a strike?'"

Reagan's "liberalism" also won him the support of many Hollywood leftists who helped elect him to the SAG board in 1945.

"When he showed up originally on the Guild board, he was very popular with the liberals," recalls Anne Revere, an Academy Award-winning actress who served on the SAG board with Reagan. "We looked for him to support us, and for a while he did. Then suddenly, *boom*, he changed his mind."

"It was opportunism, pure and simple," claims Karen Morley, former leading lady to Paul Muni. She was later blacklisted out of the business and became a leftist labor organizer. "[He did] whatever was good for his future. I think he's a totally synthetic creature. People ask, 'What's he really like?' He isn't like anything; he's what-

ever he needs to be."

Hollywood's labor turmoil, meanwhile, had attracted the attention of publicity-conscious Red-hunters in the nation's capital, sparking an investigation by the House un-American Activities Committee. Hearings were held that promised "to be sensational," according to the boast of committee member and Southern California Congressman Richard M. Nixon.

As an example of Reagan's double game, he admits that his role in the various anti-fascist or liberal groups to which he belonged was to provoke "hubbub and dismay" by insisting that the group sign a loyalty oath. After such meetings Reagan and the other provocateurs would gather privately—"pleased because the whole thing had been a preconceived plot to smoke out the 'others.'"

Again, it was the California Senate Red-hunting unit that fed Reagan raw data about the "Communist fronts" that had only short years before been the bulwark of the Hollywood community's "united front against fascism."

The next step was inevitable. During the labor troubles, Reagan admits he was "visited by three men from a well-known government agency." Over coffee "one said, 'We have some information that might be useful to you; we thought you might have some information helpful to us.'" The fateful interview concluded: "We thought someone the Communists hated as much as they hate you might be willing to help us."

Reagan's reaction? "That got me," he wrote. "I came to admire these men." By 1947, after a number of other candidates were declared ineligible because they were producers as well as SAG officials, Reagan was in control of SAG. He was not yet a member of management—but only, as is now clear, their agent, as well as one of the authors and chief keeper of the Blacklist.

The momentum increased. Reagan, actor William Holden and other SAG activists with connections to the FBI set about breaking up anti-blacklist meetings or punishing individuals. There was, Reagan wrote, a certain "Roman Catholic priest . . . a teacher of political

science . . . he blasted SAG on the airwaves . . . but not for long: Someone else began to teach political science. . . ."

The scowl behind the small-town grin was starting to show. People lost their jobs, their health, their dignity and their families. As the Blacklist grew longer and longer, the wheel turned faster and faster.

Reagan's campaign of leaking names of suspects to the press intensified. ("Magazine and press articles began to appear" is the typically passive expression Reagan uses in his gloating memoir of the period.) He was informing to his supposed rivals (the studio bosses), to the FBI and to Richard M. Nixon.

* * *

By February 1952 Ronnie and Nancy were engaged, and she was helping him clear other people's names who had somehow been mistakenly blacklisted. This made them feel good. They were both bitter about the campaign against Ronnie. People were saying that he had talked so much about "getting the Reds in the movie business" that his first wife had run away; that he was given acting roles in exchange for secretly siding with the studios in the various negotiations; that he was a "half man" (whatever that meant) like certain other very male-looking leading men.

At least some people were interested in the truth. Ronnie wrote in *Fortnight* magazine that "several members of Congress were Communists." Louella Parsons, Ed Sullivan, Lee Mortimer and other columnists all consulted on a regular basis with Ronnie. Nancy met many of them, and Walter Winchell himself assured the handsome couple that Ronnie's message (that numbers of critics and journalists were "little Red Brothers," as Ronnie liked to put it) would get out to "Mr. and Mrs. America." Dr. Loyal sent his future son-in-law a series of pamphlets concerning the modern history of treason and on "who lost China to communism."

His movie roles were negligible. But in SAG there was, according to actor Sterling Hayden, a "one-man battalion named Ronnie Reagan." Hayden had been one of the many former "fellow travelers" of the Left to come before Ronnie and the board, to recant, to confess and to be cleared. Ronnie always called him a hero in his speeches. But Nancy was

bitter with Hayden when he later wrote: "Not often does a man find himself eulogized for having behaved in a manner that he himself despises." Ronnie was too good, she felt. He needed her protection. He was such a swell guy; he could never say no. Take the Helen Gahagan Douglas campaign for the Senate going on in 1950; Ronnie insisted on taking precious time to campaign widely for the beautiful, aristocratic friend of FDR.

* * *

Richard Nixon was running one of the dirtiest campaigns in California history against the actress and democratic activist Helen Gahagan Douglas. Wealthy and noble-looking, and the wife of actor Melvyn Douglas, she was the toast of the Hollywood stage and screen establishment.

Nixon was operating a clandestine campaign against the liberal Democrat. The USC "ratfuckers" (as the Nixon volunteers called themselves) spread anti-Semitic literature about Melvyn Douglas ("real name Hesselstine") and his wife's Red links ("pink down to her underwear"; "in bed with Harry Truman"). The ratfuckers broke into campaign offices too and threw eggs at Douglas supporters (many were later to be indicted in the Watergate scandal).

None of this stopped Ronald Reagan from his highly visible identification with the Douglas campaign. That is because Reagan was playing a double game. He was Richard Nixon's man in the liberal camp of his enemies. Reagan had begun operating as a Nixon agent in 1947.

June 18, 1959

Dear Ronald:

Bob Christenberry sent me a copy of your address "Business, Ballots and Bureaus" that you made in New York recently.

I want you to know that I thought you did an excellent job of analyzing our present tax situation and the attitudes that have contributed to it. In recent months I have been greatly encouraged by the apparent trend on the part of the American people to question the "Tax and tax, spend and spend . . . elect and

elect" philosophy. Speeches such as yours should do much to cause some solid thinking about the inherent dangers in this philosophy with the final result being a nationwide demand for reform.

I hope that you will have many opportunities to repeat your wise words.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

[Signed] Richard Nixon

P.S. As I read your speech, I recalled our first meeting in 1947 when we discussed some of the labor relations problems in the motion picture industry.

-R. N.

Mr. Ronald Reagan
CBS-Television City
7300 Beverly Boulevard
Hollywood 46, California

The euphemistic reference to labor-relation problems points, of course, to the scheme to Red-bait the left-wing, anti-crime unions out of Hollywood. Reagan's "cooperation" was informing on them. The Kearns Report is the context of Nixon's letter.

Members of the Helen Douglas campaign still express their confusion over Reagan's 1950 support. They knew that for years he had been a bitter foe of everything the candidate had stood for; then, without notice, he loudly associated himself with the left-liberal campaign. And before the new year of 1951 he was a militant Nixon man: meeting with the new senator, raising money privately for him, huddling with some of the Nixon power-brokers to plot Vice Presidential possibilities. So how could Ronnie, the Douglas Democrats wondered, *flip-flop so suddenly?* One of them says today, "We smelled a rat then; now we know who it was. We knew the Nixon gang had someone on the inside. We knew there was sabotage. I thought then that Reagan was a Nixon 'mole,' but other people always laughed and said he was too nice and too dumb to [lie]."

John Bright, the noted scriptwriter of such classics as *Public Enemy*, goes further: "He sold out and informed

on his own guild, on the craft unions who were fighting the Teamsters and the Mob and on Helen Douglas. He was 'Honest Iago.' He couldn't 'smile and smile and be a villain.' "

In 1961 Richard Nixon slipped and told *Time* magazine about his relationship with Reagan:

Our friendship dates from the days that he represented the Screen Actors Guild and I was a member of the House Labor Committee in 1947.

I think the most accurate way to give my appraisal of him is in this way. He always has played in movies and on television the part of the good guy. As distinguished from some others who traditionally play such parts, I have found in real life he is an even better guy than he is in the make-believe life of television and screen.

This quotation is from *Time's* files and did not appear in a verbatim version in the story. Did Nixon stop it, knowing that he had revealed his collusion with Reagan both in 1947 (when Reagan and SAG were supposed to be neutral in the union fight) as well as in 1950 during the Douglas campaign? Readers today may not remember Nixon's role on the House Labor Committee in 1947: Vicious Red-baiting of the union movement beyond anything ever done by Senator Joseph McCarthy. That and the charge that the Democrats were "the party of treason." This was the young Richard Nixon and, secretly, the "good guy" Ronald Reagan.

In the 1950s Reagan would tell his old friend that he would like to be "used."

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Nixon for Governor

To: RN
From: Rose
Subject: Ronald Reagan
Distribution:

Date: June 22, 1962

You will recall when Ronald Reagan telephoned you right after the primary election he said he would make a statement

whenever you thought it would be good and that he would like to be used. I think when you are discussing with Haldeman, Finch, et al. the coming campaign you should think about what top spot he is going to get.

Nixon scribbled "agree" across the top of Rosemary Woods's memo. Reagan was to have a "top spot" (a prominent role)—this time as an *open* supporter.

Reagan's deceptive role as a "liberal" ended with the Douglas campaign. According to other notables in Hollywood, such as actor Robert Cummings, Reagan worked tirelessly behind the scenes of the 1950 campaign to raise funds for Nixon. Reagan did not fool everyone, however; Edward G. Robinson saw through the liberal facade and told John Bright, "Reagan is an anti-Semite. He tries to hide it, but he is."

Howard Koch, another major screenwriter, remembers his first impressions of the actor: "I knew Ronald Reagan slightly, just enough to distrust him. We were both members of the Hollywood Democratic Club when liberalism was in fashion [the Roosevelt years]. In my memory of meetings we both attended, he was a divisive element and even then a Red-baiter. When a resolution was drawn condemning some atrocity on the part of the Nazis, he would insist on an equal condemnation of the Soviets even though they were our ally in the war against the Nazis. This created a split in the membership that was no doubt a factor in the club's dissolution."

Lester Cole, one of the "Hollywood 10," had no illusions either. "We found supporters [against the House un-American Activities Committee] in a quickly formed group of some of the most famous actors, writers and directors calling themselves the Committee for the First Amendment. . . . I failed then to notice the conspicuous absence of such self-proclaimed liberals as Ronald Reagan."

* * *

In 1951 Nancy helped Ronnie write his first major speech for the general public. The young couple pored over material gathered from friends like Hedda Hopper, Dr. Loyal and the FBI man who called on Ronnie regularly.

Ronnie tried it out for Nancy and Bill Holden in Nancy's apartment. In the speech we hear the way the "labor troubles" are memorialized.

It must seem presumptuous to some of you for a member of my profession to stand here and attempt to talk on problems of the nation. . . . However, a few years ago 'a funny thing happened to us on the way to the theatre.' Ugly reality came to our town on direct orders of the Kremlin. Hard-core party organizers infiltrated our business. They created cells, organized Communist fronts, and for a time deceived numbers of our people who, with the best of intentions, joined these fronts while still ignorant of their true purpose. The aim was to gain economic control of our industry and then subvert our screens to the dissemination of Communist propaganda.

Whatever the shortcomings, Hollywood had achieved a great deal. In the finest traditions of free enterprise, 70% of the playing time of all the screens of the world had been captured by the output of the American film capital. You may disagree sometimes with our "boy meets girl" plot, but all over the world our pictures were a window through which less fortunate humans had a glimpse of freedom and of our material comforts as well. The men in the Kremlin wanted this propaganda medium for their own destructive purposes.

Confident of their power, the Reds in our midst made one mistake in judgment. They mistook their ability to deceive for success in conversion. Under the guise of a jurisdictional strike, they made an open effort to destroy the guilds and unions who remained free from their control. Ultimately, they hoped for one vertical union of motion-picture people under the umbrella of Harry Bridges's maritime union. After the first shock the people of the movie colony rallied quickly—we lived through scenes that heretofore had been only make-believe. Thousands of massed pickets overturned cars, homes were bombed, and threats of acid in the face were directed at performers. Months later their power was broken. The studios had remained open thanks to the refusal of management and the majority of our people to be intimidated. . . .

Most people agree that the ideological struggle with Russia is the number-one problem in the world. . . . The inescapable truth is that we are at war, and we are losing that war simply because we don't, or won't, realize that we are in it. . . .

Holden said the speech was worthy of the great Roman orator, Cicero, calling it "Ciceronian."

"It was not," Nancy quipped. "It was great."

Laughing, they piled into Ronnie's green Caddy convertible and sped off to Dave Chasen's famous restaurant for

a late dinner. Holden led toast after toast to Ronnie, "who'll run the Red rats right out!"

Nancy couldn't cook; so Bill and Ronnie insisted that she join them whenever they went to Chasen's on SAG business—which was sometimes as many as four nights a week. Nancy loved watching the stars while Bill gave Ronnie reports from what Bill called "our people."

It was a cozy place to be, in that booth with Bill and Ronnie, and a good time to be alive and in love.

* * *

In 1982, during an attack on his successor as SAG president, Ed Asner, now-President Reagan said that in his Hollywood days the "Guild had a solid rule that it did not engage in politics, that our members crossed the spectrum in their own personal views, and therefore the Guild would not dare to speak politically. So the Guild would not participate in politics, nor would we allow politics into the Guild. That has been changed under the present [SAG] administration. I thought we were better off under the previous rule."

But it was SAG President Reagan in 1950 who caused the following press statement to be released in September of that year:

PRESS RELEASE OF SEPTEMBER 17, 1950

Screen Actors Guild, with its membership of more than 8,000 actors and actresses, has enlisted in the crusade for freedom. . . . The following telegram was sent:

"Dear General [Lucius] Clay:

"The more than 8,000 members of the Screen Actors Guild are proud to enlist in the crusade for freedom and to take an active part in the battle for men's minds now being waged around the world. We offer you our complete support in this great counter-offensive against Communist lies and treachery. Please call on us.

"Sincerely, Board of Directors,

"Screen Actors Guild, by Ronald Reagan, President."

Actually, there was a kind of old-boy system at SAG. Robert Montgomery, its president before Reagan, had

close ties to the Dulles brothers—Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and CIA chief Allen Dulles—as well as the Central Intelligence Agency. William Holden, who followed Reagan, maintained his FBI and CIA ties up until his death. Leon Ames, SAG president in 1958, went to Washington to attend a conference on “The Foreign Aspects of U.S. National Security.” In 1959 SAG President Howard Keel took part in a Department of Defense “orientation conference.” In 1971 SAG President Charlton Heston met with Nixon Administration Cabinet officers involved in propaganda. And in 1974 John Gavin did the same for the Ford Administration. These SAG men are now Reagan intimates, appointees or, as in the case of Heston, willing “agents of influence”—to use a propaganda term. Reagan himself was deeply involved in clandestine activities in the 1960s and 1970s. Here we are studying the Reagan of the 1940s and 1950s at the beginning of his role as informer and provocateur.

It is impossible to understand U.S. President Reagan without some knowledge of SAG President Reagan and his blacklist. Reagan’s Director of Entertainment for the 1980 inauguration was Frank Sinatra. Originally an “unfriendly” witness before the House un-American Activities Committee—in 1947, when Reagan was a “friendly”—Sinatra later changed his mind and joined in blacklisting writers suggested for the controversial film *The Execution of Private Slovik*. (Eddie Slovik was the only American GI to be executed for desertion during World War II.)

Also in beaming attendance at the inauguration was ex-Senator George Murphy—the SAG president who helped Reagan make his deal to inform the FBI, who groomed him for leadership and who aided Reagan in designing the blacklist that led so many to jail, dissolution and despair. Testifying before HUAC in October 1947, Murphy preceded Reagan on the witness stand.

... and they made up three characters that were known as Ronnie, Eddie and George—Ronald Reagan, Eddie Arnold and George Murphy. We were on the committee that had gone back to Chicago during the strike, you see, and we were smeared, we were called “producers’ men.”

[Chairman] McDowell: Stooges!

Mr. Murphy: Stooges, yes. And I think the proof of whether we were stooges or not is evidenced by the contract that the Screen Actors Guild concluded, which is the best ever concluded with the producers, and I think one of the best labor contracts ever written.

Mr. McDowell: You have been called a Fascist, no doubt!

Mr. Murphy: Yes, I have been called a Fascist, but I don't pay an awful lot of attention to that. I think maybe the time has come when anybody who disagrees with a Communist is a Fascist—and I certainly disagree with a Communist.

Mr. McDowell: Well, you have been a good witness. It is very fortunate for the American film industry, producers, actors, workers, painters, everybody else, that there has been a group of you fellows out there, men and women, who have had the courage of your convictions and have stood up and fought. You have done a fine job.

Mr. Murphy: If I may say so, Mr. Chairman, we had more than the courage of our convictions. We had what we knew to be the backing of the great majority of our membership, and when you are carrying out what you know to be the will of the people which you are representing, you don't have much hesitancy, and your way is pretty clear.

The Chairman: Mr. Nixon.

Mr. Nixon: No questions.

The Chairman: Mr. Stripling.

Mr. Stripling: No questions.

The Chairman: Thank you very much. It was very fine of you to come here today.

The next witness.

Mr. Smith: Mr. Ronald Reagan.

The Chairman: Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth?

Mr. Reagan: I do.

The Chairman: So help you God?

Mr. Reagan: I do.

The Chairman: Sit down.

TESTIMONY OF RONALD REAGAN

Mr. Stripling: Mr. Reagan, will you please state your full name and present address?

Mr. Reagan: Ronald Reagan, 9137 Cordell Drive, Los Angeles 46, California.

Mr. Stripling: When and where were you born, Mr. Reagan?

Mr. Reagan: Tampico, Illinois, February 6, 1911.

Mr. Stripling: What is your present occupation?

Mr. Reagan: Motion-picture actor.

Mr. Stripling: How long have you been engaged in that

profession?

Mr. Reagan: Since June 1937, with a brief interlude of 3½ years—that at the time didn't seem very brief.

Mr. Stripling: What period was that?

Mr. Reagan: That was during the late war.

Mr. Stripling: What branch of the service were you in?

Mr. Reagan: Well, sir, I had been for several years in the Reserve as an officer in the United States Cavalry, but I was assigned to the Air Corps.

Mr. Stripling: That is kind of typical of the Army, isn't it?

Mr. Reagan: Yes, sir. The first thing the Air Corps did was loan me to the Signal Corps.

Mr. McDowell: You didn't wear spurs?

Mr. Reagan: I did for a short while.

The Chairman: I think this has little to do with the facts we are seeking; proceed.

Mr. Stripling: Mr. Reagan, are you a member of any guild?

Mr. Reagan: Yes, sir; the Screen Actors Guild.

Mr. Stripling: How long have you been a member?

Mr. Reagan: Since June 1937.

Mr. Stripling: Are you the president of the guild at the present time?

Mr. Reagan: Yes, sir. . . .

Mr. Stripling: As a member of the board of directors, as president of the Screen Actors Guild and as an active member, have you at any time observed or noted within the organization a clique of either Communists or Fascists who were attempting to exert influence or pressure on the guild?

Mr. Reagan: Well, sir, my testimony must be very similar to that of Mr. Murphy and Mr. [Robert] Montgomery. There has been a small group within the Screen Actors Guild which has consistently opposed the policy of the guild board and officers of the guild, as evidenced by the vote on various issues. That small clique referred to has been suspected of more or less following the tactics that we associate with the Communist Party.

Mr. Stripling: Would you refer to them as a disruptive influence within the guild?

Mr. Reagan: I would say that at times they have attempted to be a disruptive influence.

Mr. Stripling: You have no knowledge yourself as to whether or not any of them are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. Reagan: No, sir; I have no investigative force, or anything, and I do not know.

Mr. Stripling: Has it ever been reported to you that certain members of the guild were Communists?

Mr. Reagan: Yes, sir; I have heard different discussions and some of them tagged as Communists.

When he was elected to the SAG presidency, Louella Parsons wrote—"You may be sure that Jack Warner, who is fighting communism . . . is giving Ronnie a break he deserves."

Lester Cole, a noted and blacklisted writer, remembers that "Reagan was whatever they wanted him to be. He was a smooth, tricky opportunist. He was Mr. Slick."

Besides the SAG leadership, Reagan was made president of the Motion Picture Industry Council, long considered a front for putting out FBI-sponsored propaganda. This council and the Red-hunting Motion Picture Alliance chose Reagan to coordinate their loyalty oath or Blacklist campaigns. The wheel was growing steadily in circumference.

Reagan was now at the center of the FBI's operation to create informers. In an interview with the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* he took credit for "bringing in" the "big fish" of the industry.

Privately, Reagan's career was at an all-time low. According to John Bright, Reagan was convinced that "Jews and Commies were blacklisting *him!*" According to the widow of a famous Hollywood songwriter, "Reagan's modus operandi was well known. When he coveted a role, he would visit the producer . . . praise the actor chosen for the role and add, 'It's too bad that he's a Commie.'"

This shameful period saw Reagan preside over a witch hunt that *never* resulted in *one* arrest or proven propaganda excess or infiltration. Thought control was the aim of the Blacklist.

Yet in 1980 Reagan lied to the *Los Angeles Times*: "There was no blacklist in Hollywood . . . if there was one, it was provided by the Communists." Once again Reagan was depicting himself in the old role of the victim and as a martyr of a Red smear campaign.

* * *

Ronnie and Nancy were married in 1952 at the Little Brown Church in Los Angeles's San Fernando Valley. A cake and a photographer were waiting for the newlyweds at the

home of Bill Holden.

It was a warm spring evening. The Reagans thanked the Holdens and set out at once for their honeymoon. Dr. Loyal came to meet them at the old Mission Inn in Riverside, California. Ronnie welcomed his famous father-in-law and remembers the awesome "principle and character" of this "true humanitarian." Dr. Loyal was not "the sticky, bleeding-heart kind, but the kind who could impress on the students at Northwestern that theirs was a sacred responsibility to cherish the human lives that, as doctors, they would hold in their hands," said Ronnie.

* * *

One doctor in *King's Row* loved his daughter "unnaturally"; the other doctor was a grim sadist who butchered the townspeople under cover of surgery. Loyal Davis loved his adopted daughter intensely but "naturally," though both lied about the existence of Nancy's actual father. By 1952 Dr. Loyal was virtually retired from medicine, spending most of his time disseminating what can only be called neo-fascist literature. He urged on the eager Reagan to take leadership.

Reagan had about burnt his past bridges. John Bright, one of the shrewdest historians of the period, offers a fresh perspective:

When he came back from the hearings, his cover was blown. He was an open informer. So he threw his wife out at the same time. The Louella Parsons' [storybook marriage] fiction was over. It was no more Mr. Nice Guy. There were a lot of stories going around about how she [Jane Wyman] became so completely bored with him. There were also stories that he was convinced that she had cuckolded him in New York, that he went wild and threw her out after he got back from testifying or informing in Washington.

He still pretended to be a registered Democrat—he probably was. But anyone who was concerned knew that he wasn't an actor anymore, or a husband, or anything authentic. He was a symbol, a composite like that made-up clothing-store image—"Robert Hall." So whatever or whoever he'd been didn't exist. But his resentment, his paranoid suspicion, his smarmy, shit-kicking, sado-masochistic "patriotism"—that continued to exist all right, larger than life.

With Reagan's career fading fast, he began to trade on his other life—that of a political operative. Dr. Loyal had connections on the extreme edge of the anti-Communist "movement." There was the openly fascist publicist Edward F. Sullivan, for instance, who helped book speaking dates for Reagan as he attempted to generate income and interest outside Hollywood. Dr. Loyal was also in contact with the rabid Gerald L. K. Smith, and Reagan met the noted racist at least twice, privately, in the Glendale mansion of a "Christian Nationalist" fund raiser for the Reverend Smith.

In 1952 William F. Buckley warned Reagan that the linkage of anti-communism to anti-Semitism and racism would be fatal. Reagan was fascinated—almost spellbound—by the complex Buckley. He was coming to understand that men such as HUAC Chairman Jay Parnell (J. P.) Thomas (who had been sent to a federal penitentiary in 1948 for tax fraud) and Congressman John S. Wood of Georgia, a KKK advocate, could spoil their movement.

Buckley, a psychological-warfare specialist working for the Central Intelligence Agency in the 1950s, had helped to coach Reagan in provocations that had wrecked the United World Federalists and other post-World War II United Nations-related organizations. Now the CIA deep-cover agent put Reagan together with Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and his young aide, Roy Cohn. These were the men, Buckley insisted, with whom Reagan must work, not the mad dogs in Glendale, California. Buckley labored tirelessly, through front after front, to convince the Right that they could not come to power as open racists. Jews, he told the dubious Reagan again and again, must play a pivotal role in the new movement, despite the fulminations of Dr. Loyal.

When Reagan was convinced, he began planning propaganda with Medell Silberberg, vice-president and general counsel for Columbia Pictures. Silberberg was a prominent Republican who had been one of the designers of the original 1947 Hollywood Blacklist. Sociologist Paul Jacobs identified Silberberg as a contact man to gangster-led Hollywood unions. The most notorious la-

bor mobster was a man named William Bioff. When Bioff was indicted for corrupt Hollywood union activity, he was replaced by Ray Brewer. Silberberg became Brewer's contact, in turn, and put Brewer and Reagan together in Helen Douglas's Senatorial campaign.

"Brewer became known, along with Reagan, as the man to see if you wanted to work in Hollywood," according to John Bright. Silberberg, said social critic Jacobs, was "in charge of the slush fund the producers kept available for bribing purposes to pay for sweetheart contracts [favorable to management] . . . to buy people off."

Silberberg brought Reagan into meetings with the American Jewish Committee (AJC). Discussions included both propaganda and covert actions. The following is excerpted from a 1952 AJC staff study:

. . . We miss yet another bet in the use of our investigative staff. During recent years we infiltrated into rightist organizations to explore them, etc. Why can't we do this with Communist organizations, also using our knowledge to scare off Jews?

Because it seems likely that the AJC will undertake some kind of propaganda campaign in connection with these problems, I should like to make some constructive suggestions along propaganda lines. The principle underlying these suggestions is that the propaganda of the deed or propaganda of facts may have greater positive value than propaganda of exhortation. . . .

Instead of arguing exhortatively that Jews are not Communists, that they hate Communists, that they hate Russia, that Russia hates Jews, more positive approaches based on propaganda of fact can be used. One of the difficulties of propaganda of exhortation is not only that links may be established where none now exist, but also that there will always be instances to prove the exception of the propaganda claim; that is, there may be more Jewish atomic spies or more Jewish Communist leaders who will be arrested and tried and found guilty.

The following propaganda-of-fact ideas may be tried out:

1. Stories about how Russia stifles and oppresses its various minorities, including Jews, despite its claims to the contrary.
2. Stories about how Russia recruits spies and controls Communist Party members in this country. (Such an expose' would be most useful in Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish newspapers.)
3. Stories of American party systems and voting, showing how parties cut across all religious and ethnic lines. Possibly attention could be paid even to third-party groups and parties left of center.

4. Exposés on how Communists work in this country, infiltrating into various institutions such as labor unions, etc., and

5. Stories of how Communists are fought in this country through institutional means such as labor unions (International Lady Garment Workers Union President David Dubinsky kicks them out) and through government, featuring the work of such U.S. attorneys as Irving Saypol. (In this connection it should be pointed out that Saypol and other Jews on the "right side" may have as much or as little chance of recognition as do Jews on the "wrong side.")

6. Stories and reprints of stories on Russian attacks against Israel, against Zionists, against use of the Hebrew language.

7. Reprints and stories of Israel siding with the United Nations against Korean aggression.

8. Stories of how the present government in Israel keeps down Communists. . . .

Thus, Buckley's advice to cultivate the Jewish Right was a fateful decision for Reagan to take, especially since he had to keep these and other "ethnic" contacts secret from the racist Dr. Loyal.

Buckley was also central to Reagan's special relationship with a virtual network of East Coast columnists. Their names are faded now, but in the time of the Great Witch-Hunt—when Ronald Reagan found his full and secret identity—men like George Sokolsky and Walter Winchell and women on the West Coast such as Hedda Hopper and Louella Parsons were conduits of power. Reagan, of course, had been close to both Hopper and Parsons since the 1930s, but it took Buckley to bring him into contact with the press lions of the East.

Buckley worked with Sokolsky and others on behalf of the CIA, while the master of deceit—J. Edgar Hoover—kept columnists such as Lee Mortimer, Jack Lait, Ed Sullivan and Leonard Lyons listed as "F.O.B." (Friends of the Bureau). To be cleared from the Blacklist a suspect had to pass down the gauntlet from Hollywood to New York, from Reagan and union leader Brewer to Sokolsky and Winchell. To catch a flavor of this intelligence-linked tabloid power, study these excerpts from George Sokolsky's letter to Humphrey Bogart. Bogart had written Sokolsky to explain away his opposition to the Reagan-Murphy-Montgomery testimony before HUAC.

... Confession is good for any man's soul. And you display great courage and manhood to confess error. Yes, that trip was foolish. ...

Next time, however, I hope you will look before you leap. Things are not always what they seem. ... For instance, you people out in Hollywood had an idea ... that this country had an ally during the war. You were asked to portray Soviet Russia as a glorious, free, democratic country that was allied to us. You may recall that Hollywood produced some pictures along that line.

Of course that was never true. Soviet Russia was never an ally. Germany's war on Russia coincided, more or less, with our war on Germany, and the Russians were ready and willing to take advantage of that situation. We gave them \$11 billion of lend-lease, and we shipped them airplanes and tanks and machinery. But they never coordinated. ... They blackmailed us at Tehran and Yalta. ... Only enemies ... act that way.

If you are genuinely contrite for a very foolish bit of exhibitionism, you ought to go further. You might tell us who suggested that trip to Washington. Whose brainchild was it? Who projected you and your wife to take the lead?

Your wife, Lauren Bacall, is a beautiful young lady, and you are a popular actor. ... They stuck you out front because you did not belong to them. That is an old trick. ... But somebody was using both of you. Who is that somebody? ... It would be a great service if you told all—and gave him a sock.

Anyhow, I am glad to see you among the Americans. ... You show first-rate manhood in taking the people who admire you into your confidence. Now do something for your country that is really constructive. Tell us who suggested and organized that trip. If you have no better way, use this column for that purpose. It gets around.

Best regards to the lady,

[Signed] George E. Sokolsky

Anti-Communist "research" was a growth industry in those days. By the early 1950s Reagan was receiving secret, small but steady sums of money from several sources to pay for SAG "research and public relations." One of the sources was the Cecil B. De Mille Foundation. Money came to Reagan loyalists in the greater Hollywood propaganda network, and information would flow back to the De Mille Foundation, and from these on to the FBI, HUAC and California's little HUAC—the Tenney Committee—named after the raving Red-baiter, State Senator Jack Tenney.

Thus, by 1954 Reagan was almost exclusively involved in two activities. First, he had begun to speak widely for right-wing causes under the banner of "subversion in the film industry." Second, he was at the center of a secret information-intelligence-propaganda operation with national scope. Reagan agreed with Buckley that the country was at war, and so it was, he believed, his patriotic duty to inform, provoke and propagandize for and with the FBI, the CIA, HUAC, the Nixon "network" and the major studios.

Besides the patriotism, there was money in it. And Reagan later wrote in his autobiography that he was "broke" with a new family and had no "other skills at all, except acting."

* * *

The years from 1950 on were the best of times for the young couple and their new baby. They loved their Pacific Palisades home. There was the horse ranch in the San Fernando Valley where Tarbaby, the black beauty, ruled the stable. And best of all, money was coming from Ronnie's television work. He also starred in one film that fascinated him, *Prisoner of War*. In researching the role he was able to work with Army Intelligence experts and psychologists specializing in Korean, Communist-style "brainwashing." Liberals, Ronnie said, shafted the film, but Nancy thought it one of his best.

More fun was two weeks in Las Vegas as a headliner, where Ronnie re-created the same act he did at hundreds of benefits he and Nancy hosted—introducing other acts, appearing to be master of ceremonies. Then came a call from Ronnie's agent with an offer from General Electric for a series. "Thus," wrote Reagan later, "a door opened on another part of me."

* * *

General Electric Theater gave Reagan security and credibility for life. In addition to hosting the show, he toured for the company's "employee and community-relations program." Besides being a corporate-

propaganda operation, this was a front for something much more complex, and it was a payoff to Reagan for betraying SAG to the major producers. The story of that betrayal is chillingly clear.

Reagan was represented as an actor by the giant Music Corporation of America, and it was MCA executive Taft Schreiber who set the GE deal. Schreiber was head of Revue Productions, an MCA subsidiary, and he owed his power to Reagan and his SAG clique.

On July 3, 1952, Reagan concluded a series of meetings that for the first time gave a talent agency—*Reagan's* talent agency—the right to produce films. Thus, MCA was now in a conflict-of-interest position with its own clients—the screen actors Reagan was sworn to serve and protect. After selling out SAG, Reagan picked up his reward: Eventually he collected many millions of dollars from Revue Productions, now a TV giant.

In 1959 Reagan again became head of SAG and immediately announced that the "Red menace" had returned to Hollywood. Reagan's speeches and views had become so extreme by 1960 that GE had to separate itself from its employee's statements by gradually reducing his appearances on the air. GE had been charged with price fixing and was extremely sensitive to government scrutiny.

Incredibly, Reagan again sold out his membership before finishing this last term in SAG power. This time he allowed the producers a special "waiver" to escape making major residual payments for reruns of TV shows to screen actors. This waiver betrayal would lead to the bitter SAG strike of 1981 and the election of SAG's first liberal president, Ed Asner. Both were a reaction by the actors to decades of political corruption between SAG operatives and producers.

Reagan's acting career was ending, and it was time to move on. Through his wife Nancy, Dr. Loyal and William Buckley, he began to meet and talk with the men who would later be dubbed his "Kitchen Cabinet."

* * *

As far as Ronnie and Nancy were concerned, anti-Communist politics were more fun than movies ever had

been. Nancy was proud to be called a spunky battler for freedom. "You have to be vigilant," she liked to say, "because it's a war." There was the Hillcrest Country Club incident, for example. The Reagans had arrived there one night for dinner, and the fat doorman had refused to let them in, saying that their honorary membership had been revoked.

Nancy saw Ronnie's Irish temper that night. He told her that the membership had been revoked because it was a Jewish country club, and they were all mad at Ronnie because so many of the "Hollywood 10" and the others who got in trouble before HUAC were Jews. Edward G. Robinson, for instance. He had wangled the honorary membership for Ronnie in the first place, and then Eddie got into trouble and wouldn't name names and all the rest of it. Then, of course, everyone came to Ronnie begging him to help clear the great Edward G. Robinson. Ronnie had told him to name names, and Robinson had broken down and cried and cursed Ronnie, and now he and his type were getting even with Ronnie through the country club.

Why couldn't people understand that Ronnie had to wear two hats, and that there had to be a whitelist in order to clear the names of those falsely accused of being Reds. Look how it had saved Nancy the time when she had been confused with another actress of the same name. That's why Ronnie had to discuss everything with the FBI. To quote Ronnie, "The guys and gals of glamorland are behind us one-hundred percent." That's why they had elected him to five consecutive terms as president of SAG and cheered the deals he negotiated for them. And none begrudged Ronnie his new TV job for MCA, *GE Theater*. His contract had lapsed at Warners, there were young children, and he was reduced to performing in Las Vegas like a clown. No wonder Nancy had to take so many tranquilizers.

* * *

Continuing carefully to backtrack in my own footsteps to deceive the restless natives of Hollywood, I'd like to go on with what was occurring in my own work, which at times seemed to be a sideline.

—*Where's the Rest of Me?*, Ronald Reagan (1965)

■ By the mid-1950s conflict-of-interest charges had already been leveled at Reagan by some SAG members

who believed that he had been a producer on *GE Theater* all along. His title on that show was "program supervisor." Hedda Hopper had begun a 1956 interview with Reagan by saying, "Now that you are a producer," and the actor did not correct her.

At the same time, the Justice Department began a federal grand jury investigation into the talent-agency business, and Reagan was subpoenaed to testify concerning the waiver he and SAG had granted MCA in 1952. Though MCA was indicted for possible antitrust violations, there was never a trial. As MCA was preparing to divest itself of its talent operation by selling the agency to its own employees, the Justice Department stepped in and sealed up the agency's offices. In the end, MCA was forced to give up its agency operations without remuneration—in effect to give the company away.

During this final phase of Reagan's early political career the *Los Angeles Times* stated that the actor "was steeped in controversy." Reagan was rich now and had much free time to visit the Friars social club when he returned from his GE road tours. At the Friars, Reagan drew closer to Teamster officials and gangsters like John Rosselli. It had been Rosselli and his gang who'd made war on the Left unions during the strikes that brought Reagan to power. Behind the vociferous anti-communism of the studios had always been sweetheart deals with company unions like Reagan's SAG and Rosselli's crime-ridden stagehands union.

By 1960 Reagan was in constant touch with the Nixon campaign. Just as he had once been Nixon's man in the Helen Douglas campaign, now he was Barry Goldwater's and the extreme Right's man in Nixon's 1960 Presidential operation.

In July of 1960 Reagan wrote the following by hand to Nixon:

One last thought. Shouldn't someone tag Mr. Kennedy's bold new imaginative program with its proper tag? Under the teased boyish haircut it is still old Karl Marx—first launched a century ago. There is nothing new in the idea of a government being Big Brother to us all. Hitler called his "state socialism," and way before him it was "benevolent monarchy."

Reagan and George Murphy were in constant contact with Nixon, attempting to influence his media approach. Then as the GOP gathered in Chicago, to cheer Nixon on as the contender, Reagan—in a telegram to Nixon headquarters at the Blackstone Hotel—revealed just how far to the right of Nixon he had moved:

RESPECTFULLY URGE CONSIDERATION
GOLDWATER FOR VICE-PRESIDENT CANNOT SUP-
PORT TICKET IF IT INCLUDES ROCKEFELLER.

[Signed] MR AND MRS RONALD REAGAN

Nixon lost in 1960. But two years later he was running again, for governor of California. By then, however, Reagan had his own power base, and Nixon was beginning to feel the pressure of his former "secret friend" in SAG. During this period, incredibly enough, Reagan was still posing as a Democrat.

REAGAN BLAMES DEMOS

Socialism Lurks, Actor Tells GOP

By HARRY FARRELL
San Jose Mercury Political Writer

Actor Ronald Reagan charged here last night that "the guiding force in the Democratic Party is completely opposed to continuation of the constitutional form of government we all know."

Today's Democratic Party, he said, "resembles much more the Labor-Socialist Party in England than the Democratic Party we have known in the past."

Reagan addressed 500 Santa Clara County Republicans at the GOP's annual \$100-a-plate fund raising dinner at Lou's Village.

Though the television and screen star has been active in GOP affairs and was even tentatively mentioned last spring as prospective Republican gubernatorial timber, he disclosed while here that he is still registered Democratic.

"But I intend to change," he added quickly.

Asked the reasons for his change, he said, "I just kept follow-

ing Tom Jefferson and wound up in the Republican Party." The topic of the slim, handsome actor was "Losing Freedom on the Installment Plan."

"The Communists gauge their aggression," he said, "slicing each new gain just thin enough so that we'll say, 'That isn't worth fighting for.' . . . They have harnessed the fear of war instead of war itself."

While the *San Jose Mercury* was calling him a Democrat, the *Pasadena Independent Star-News* was referring to excerpts from an address "by . . . Ronald Reagan, actor and anti-Communist leader, at the recent annual dinner for the medical staff given by the board of directors of the Huntington Memorial Hospital."

As always, Reagan used the big lie of his Warner strike plot to sell himself.

At first glance I'm sure some of you will question the pertinence of drawing a parallel between the great problems besetting the world today and a jurisdictional dispute involving a handful (no more than 26,000 workers) in the motion-picture industry more than a decade ago. Yet the parallel is there, like a scale model of the real thing.

His remarks went on to attack medical care for veterans. "Non-service connected" was the term used to exclude them from receiving benefits.

By 1964 Reagan had become the spokesman for the American Right—though Barry Goldwater was its symbol. The more telegenic Reagan had upstaged Goldwater by delivering on national television what from then on was to be called "The Speech"—virtually the same address he had first rehearsed in Nancy's apartment before they were married. Now Nixon approached Reagan asking "to be used," as he had previously suggested in a letter.

The speech was repeated again and again on television. The men who would become known as the Kitchen Cabinet watched the handsome face glowing in the dark.

In a way, Ronald Reagan had embraced his fate. He was never really an actor, except in the sense that he made up baseball games as a young man. Now he spoke out for Goldwater and his own new movement—"The

Creative Society." He had left his betrayed guild far behind now. There never was a Blacklist, he insisted, only a Whitelist.

Research reveals that in all the shameful years during which Ronald Reagan, for SAG, and Ray Brewer, for the studio craft unions, maintained what they call the whitelist—only *one* individual was ever helped: Nancy Reagan, *nee* Davis.

ACT II

THE GOVERNOR

Crawling out of the older city, like parasites abandoning a decrepit and useless host, were the new subdivisions. Close-packed, identical, shining-new, glittering with paint and new grass the subdivisions flowed down toward the sea and around the blackened spikes of the abandoned oil derricks of Signal Hill. They moved, in a welter of two-bedroom one-bath globs, toward Pomona and Whittier and devoured the orange trees as they went. In the Hollywood Hills and in the slopes behind Burbank the land was scarred by raw new roads and the units were bigger and sparkled with polished glass and redwood. Only occasionally was there an open and orderly stretch of green where crops were growing. . . .

The highway rolled across the countryside without mercy. It cut through hills in great raw gashes and swept on concrete bridges across the rivers. It cut through mountains in long tunnels lined with white tile and gleaming with lights. Occasionally from the new highway the old twisting road could be seen and the remains of the towns that had lined the old road. The towns held up their french-fried almond signs and antique signs and date shops and chinchilla ranches to the abandoned empty strip of asphalt, while the dirty windows in the back brooded malignantly over the new highway.

—*Ninth Wave*, Eugene Burdick

To Nancy, the scene was as dramatic as any film. Rich, powerful, handsome men and women, led by her, stood in tribute as Ronnie was sworn in as the 33rd Governor of California.

Time: Midnight, January 2, 1967.

Place: The brilliantly illuminated, high-domed Rotunda of the State Capitol in Sacramento, California.

Cast: One hundred and fifty distinguished guests.

Action: At one minute after midnight the University of Southern California Chamber Singers, standing in an arc on the Rotunda balcony, sweetly sang "America, the Beautiful," a cappella.

United States Senator George Murphy, a former movie star and close friend of the Governor-elect, administered the oath of office to 41-year-old Lieutenant Governor Robert H. Finch.

Climax: At 16 minutes past midnight the tall, handsome, youthful-looking man placed his left hand on a 400-year-old Bible. Standing in front of a statue of Queen Isabella of Spain and Christopher Columbus, he raised his right hand and was sworn in by Justice Marshall F. McComb.

There was an elongated second when time seemed to stand still. Then Governor Ronald Wilson Reagan stepped in front of the microphones to break the tension in his own way:

"Well, George, here we are on the late show again. . . ."

That is how a Reagan media specialist described the scenario.

Nancy wept. Then she giggled, and the giggles spread. Soon the pent-up excitement and sheer happiness triggered by Ronnie's "cutie," as he liked to call his wife, made everyone guffaw. Flushed with victory, they radiated the power and joy of what Ronnie's wealthy friends like to call "The Private Sector."

They were gathered at this curious hour because Nancy told them that Ronnie wanted to watch football games the next day. In fact, most of them would be together at a buffet and TV football party hosted by former Diners Club chairman Alfred Bloomingdale back in Los Angeles. "Life," Nancy confided to her best friend, Betsy Bloomingdale, "is sweet."

Reagan had selected midnight for the inauguration based on his horoscope. This is significant only in that he chose to lie about his decision-making process. At the very moment of the swearing-in, Jupiter—the sign of kings and the symbol of prosperity and fame—would be high in the sky.

In another unprecedented move, the new Governor had picked Justice Marshal F. McComb to preside instead of Chief Justice Roger Traynor. It was McComb who had ruled that Proposition 13—a real-estate-lobby-sponsored ballot measure giving landlords the right to discriminate against black people in the housing market—was Constitutional. Reagan had ridden the horse of racism to power. The secret agenda of the Reagan gubernatorial candidacy had unfolded smoothly and silently:

1959—Reagan betrays SAG to producers; secretly supports the campaign to defy the Guild's bitter six-week strike. Producers supply seed money for political campaign years later.

1960-1964—Reagan speaks to and meets with right-wing groups across the state and nation. He raises large sums of money for Republican candidates.

1964—Reagan becomes state co-chairman of Citizens for Goldwater, working closely—but secretly—with the John Birch Society in organizational drive. After Goldwater's defeat, Reagan blasts the regulars: "We don't intend to hand the Republican Party over to the [GOP] traitors. . . . We will have no more of those who are pledged to the Socialist philosophy of our opposition."

1965—The Friends of Ronald Reagan is formed. Money is spent to compile a psychological "fear profile" to be used in the 1966 race against incumbent Governor Edmund "Pat" Brown.

* * *

The inauguration was followed by a champagne party. Nancy's friends were so happy for her. They were members of the Colleagues, a most glamorous charity in Los Angeles. Author Lawrence Learner has written that getting into the Colleagues was as difficult as being chosen for the most exclu-

sive sorority in college. Nancy's okay wasn't enough. A new member had to be attractive and stylish. She had to be "with it," not a far-out liberal, mind you, but aware of social and cultural nuances. The Colleagues provided Nancy with a new circle of friends. She was now one of the women who would later become known in the press as the Group, the most publicized clique in Los Angeles.

Nancy seemed to be picking up rich new friends wherever she went. The Reagans had met Alfred and Betsy Bloomingdale at a party. Bloomingdale was a multimillionaire. Betsy was a vivacious, striking woman, perfectly coiffed and groomed. Nancy admired her style and the clothes she wore to the Colleagues luncheons, but she had her first long talks with Betsy when she and Ronnie took their daughter-Patti Davis—to a camp that the Bloomingdales' daughter also attended.

Ronnie was a man who needed to believe in heroes, and he came to see these new friends as the genuine heroes of his age. To Ronnie there was something real, something tangible, about Bloomingdale and his cronies that he did not find among Hollywood people. He always referred to them as "real men."

For years people had been asking Ronnie to run for office, first for the U.S. House of Representatives as a Democrat, then for the Senate as a Republican. He was proud that his contemporaries thought so much of him, but he didn't think of himself as a candidate. He saw himself "as a Paul Revere sounding the alarm."

Ronnie went from town to town, speech to speech, decrying the encroachment of government on individual liberties. He joined the American Medical Association's fight against President Kennedy's Medicaid program. He produced "Ronald Reagan Record Kits" to warn listeners of what he considered to be the spreading virus of socialized medicine. He continued his battle against communism by speaking for Dr. Fred Schwarz's Christian anti-Communist campaign.

* * *

Besides the husbands of Mrs. Reagan's friends in the Colleagues, The Friends of Ronald Reagan included

elements of the movie industry and the movers of the real-estate establishment. Together they put up the money to hire Stuart Spencer and Bill Roberts, the most successful political advisers in the state. Always the innovators, Spencer and Roberts hired Behavior Science Corporation of Van Nuys, California, to design a new kind of political campaign.

This approach had never been previously used in America in quite the way that it was in 1965 and 1966. Reagan's psychologists and backers made it clear to him that only fear could defeat Pat Brown, the likable and successful incumbent. Nixon had understood this and run against the "Reds," and Reagan had helped him, very quietly. Now a new theme was needed. Race.

"California is in the throes of one of the most subtle and intensive racist political campaigns ever waged in a Northern or Western state," Carey McWilliams wrote in the October 31, 1966, issue of the *Nation*. "As Ronald Reagan admits privately, his chances of victory over Governor Edmund Brown lie in his ability to exploit overwhelming voter opposition to open-housing laws while building up and maintaining an image of moderation." (Open-housing laws permitted blacks to buy real estate in any neighborhood they desired.)

The racially discriminating Proposition 13 was eventually ruled unconstitutional by the California Supreme Court. The outcry in California was fearful to hear. Frightened real-estate brokers and their friends began a campaign to vote the state Supreme Court out of office. In one of the most virulent series of attacks against the judiciary in the history of American politics, the real-estate lobby—with the private approval of Ronald Reagan and the clear promise that he would appoint justices more "attentive to the will of the people"—declared war on the court. They were joined by the proponents of "clean," who somehow tied pornography and open-housing together.

William Clark would emerge from the bitter attack as a powerful California justice and adviser to Reagan. Years later his true role as Reagan's hatchet man would emerge with clarity.

Reagan was proud of the Americanism awards he

had received from segregationist Governors Ross Barnett of Mississippi and Orval Faubus of Arkansas and from the right-wing Citizens for Constitutional Government. The candidate had previously stated his opposition to the Federal Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965—which granted equal protection under the law to all Americans—on “Constitutional grounds.” In October 1966 Ronald Reagan went before the California Real Estate Association and attacked black complainants who alleged discrimination in housing. They had, Reagan said, “staged attempts to rent homes, when in truth there was no real intention of renting; only of causing trouble.”

That was the day the race for the Governorship of California was won. At Reagan headquarters, on election night, the first hand-painted “Reagan for President” sign was displayed at approximately 10:45 p.m.

Since World War II the use of fear had been perfected in the advertising and selling of products. Now Reagan was to be the transitional figure in the crossover from products to people. It was Madison Avenue that was preparing the new methods that would be tested on and by Ronald Reagan. This was inevitable because SAG presidents Robert Montgomery and George Murphy had been the directors of this crossover of the new psychological techniques beginning in the early 1950s.

The GOP's 1956 convention in San Francisco provided a showcase for the new approach to nominating a President, historically a democratic and often-rowdy procedure. The man supervising the production—he was called “producer” of the show—was George Murphy, the Hollywood actor and public-relations director of MGM. Even the ministers in their opening and closing intonations (seen over TV) worked in key GOP slogans.

Murphy seemed to regard all the delegates as actors in his superspectacular pageant. Wearing dark glasses, he stood a few feet back of the rostrum. Reporters noted him “making the professional gesture for fanfare, stretch-out and fade. Delegates took their cues right along with the orchestra.” He was thrown into a frenzy of activity when a Nebraska delegate tried to nominate “Joe Smith” for Vice President as a protest against the

GOP strategists' insistence that delegates vote unanimously. "Mr. Murphy finally got the man ejected," according to one press report.

While he worked for General Electric, Reagan had a deep indoctrination by psychologists devoted to this new propaganda process, described by social critic Vance Packard in his book *The Hidden Persuaders*. Packard wrote that in the early 1950s *Fortune* had noted that:

"... nothing more important had happened to management since the war than the fact that many companies have begun to experiment psychologically on their supervisors and top executives." [*Fortune*] cited as companies doing this: Standard Oil of New Jersey, Sears, Roebuck, Inland Steel, Union Carbide and Carbon, General Electric. The psychological services provided by management-consulting firms grew apace. The major consulting firm of Stevens, Jordan and Harrison, for example, had no psychological service until 1940, but by 1945 it had 30 psychologists on the staff. One of those, Perry Rohrer, then departed (reportedly with 18 staff members) and set up his own firm, which by the early '50s had diagnosed the key personnel of 175 firms. In these early days one of the significant developments was the construction of a depth test (by Burleigh Gardner, Lloyd Warner and William Henry) for spotting the officials of a company who were the real comers. One crucial trait they must have, they found, was a respectful concept of authority. "He accepts it without resentment. He looks to his superiors as persons of greater training . . . who issue guiding directives to him that he accepts without prejudice." And the [*Fortune*] report added: "This is a most necessary attitude for successful executives, since it controls their reaction to superiors."

The Friends of Ronald Reagan and their behavior-modification experts saw Reagan and his wife as a team. Undoubtedly they were familiar with a 1951 *Fortune* article that detailed the growing role of the wife in company thinking. It surveyed executives across the nation and quoted one executive as saying mournfully: "We control a man's environment in business, and we lose it entirely when he crosses the threshold of his home. Management therefore has a challenge and an obligation deliberately to plan and create a favorable, constructive attitude on the part of the wife that will liberate her husband's total energies for the job.

"Management knows exactly what kind of wife it wants. With a remarkable uniformity of phrasing, corporation officials all over the country sketch the ideal. In her simplest terms she is a wife who is (1) highly adaptable, (2) highly gregarious, (3) realizes her husband belongs to the corporation."

The *Harvard Business Review* put the demands of the corporation even more vividly in carrying a report on a study of 8,300 executives made by sociologists Lloyd Warner and James Abegglen. It stated that the mid-century American wife of an executive "must not demand too much of her husband's time or interest. Because of his single-minded concentration on his job, even his sexual activity is relegated to a secondary place."

By now Reagan had been thoroughly coached by his new psychological advisers, and thus it was that "race" became the issue both overtly and covertly in 1966. The boiler-plate of all future Reagan campaigns was struck. The names of the enemy would change, but the hidden game plan would not.

Aldous Huxley had written that Hitler's vast propaganda successes were accomplished with little more than the radio and loudspeaker. "Today the art of mind control is in the process of becoming a science," he wrote. But even Huxley failed to appreciate the tremendous progress since Hitler's heyday in advertising and the other mind-managing arts of the information complex.

References to Hitler and Mussolini are unfortunate if they give the impression that mind control under "friendly fascism" would be characterized by the wild demagoguery and frantic emotionalism of old-fashioned fascism. The logic of the emerging Reaganomic society and the new informational institutions themselves point toward more modulated and sophisticated approaches.

When the term "fascism" is used, it is important to recall the words of Thomas Kuchel. The moderate Republican Senator from California during Reagan's campaign for Governor said: "The tragic fact is that within our California Republican Party is a fanatical, neo-fascist political cult, overcome by a strange mixture of

corrosive hatred and sickening fear, recklessly determined to control our party or to destroy it."

That was before the "Creative Society" and the Friends of Ronald Reagan had completely taken over the state GOP, the way they would the National Republican Party after 1976.

* * *

The Sacramento State College band was playing "America, the Beautiful." (There had been death threats again, and a police helicopter was hovering overhead.) Betsy Bloomington told Nancy that "the \$100,000 tab for this bash is worth every penny of it." Everyone present agreed that the most expensive inaugural ball in California history, and the four-day "fiesta" that followed, was just what the public wanted.

"Governor Reagan wanted an inauguration that would establish some traditions for the first time in the nation," his coordinator explained. And the *New York Times* reported that "never before . . . has a Governor been inaugurated so thoroughly and with such pageantry."

Nancy knew how to make a splash, Ronnie said, so he gave her a free hand. A Reagan adviser described a typical little gathering, one of Nancy's special evenings at the Reagans' home in Pacific Palisades.

Dinner was elegant with candlelight and California wine. Cocktails were served by Orientals in native costumes. Conversation was kept flowing by the always gracious Mrs. Reagan. The guests were enchanted. Upon completion of the dinner, the evening took a typically Reagan turn. The Governor would rise and say, "Gentlemen, let's go downstairs." There the men were confronted by a gigantic electric train set covering nearly one half of a large recreation room, an upright piano and a pool table. Taking off his tux, the Governor would run the trains while a senator would strike up a tune on the piano and an assemblyman would send a cue ball hurtling into the racked balls.

The night of the inauguration, all eyes were on the movie-star couple as they circulated among the knots of guests from the worlds of finance and the arts assembled in the Capitol Rotunda. One persistent theme throbbed through each group of formal guests—"What a President and First Lady those two would make!"

The Friends of Ronald Reagan had a grand plan. Ronnie would first be elected Governor of California in 1966, and two years later he would be sworn in as President of the United States.

Money was no problem. The film industry wanted a tax break on its motion-picture inventories, and Reagan had been its man since 1947. Contributions would also pour in from real-estate associations.

The problem wasn't money; the problem was to control the candidate from the State House to the White House without losing him to the party pros, the technicians, bureaucrats, liberals, one-worlders and all the other Rockefeller fronts and foundations that were emasculating the free-enterprise system, as they saw it.

Who were these Friends of Ronald Reagan?

WALTER KNOTT—A multimillionaire amusement-park owner who helped bankroll the John Birch Society in Southern California and nationally. Knott was also close to the Reverend Billy James Hargiss's Christian Crusade. He brought Reagan into close contact with both groups. Reagan and Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty appeared with Hargiss throughout the early 1960s until the patriotic preacher was charged with seducing young children.

Knott also brought together for the Reagan campaign such activist groups as: Freedom Center, California Free Enterprise Association, American Educational League and a long list of other ultra-right groups. By far the most powerful organization on the Right, however, is the American Security Council (ASC), of which Knott was a founder.

This extreme, militant, wealthy organization claimed 128 cooperating universities; 102 cooperating organizations; a "Cold War victory advisory committee" including scores of retired generals, admirals and Pentagon officers; and an industrial-relations and strategy staff preparing for war with the Soviet Union. The ASC included several former Intelligence officers who had worked closely with German and Japanese war criminals. One of these, Charles Willoughby, was close to Dr. Loyal Davis, Reagan's father-in-law.

The list of extremist sponsors is long and fateful in the career of Ronald Reagan from the 1960s on. Again, it was William F. Buckley, in the early 1960s, who brought Reagan to two prime movers in the ASC—Marvin Liebman and General Electric's security consultant, Russell E. White. As a result of this meeting, Reagan became a national sponsor for the Young Americans for Freedom, a recruiting haven for both the FBI and CIA.

As Reagan toured the country for GE, he began to meet privately with some of the ASC's wealthier backers, and he came to embrace their work. That work, from 1956 on, included the amassing of dossiers on millions of Americans. Dr. Davis was a strong supporter and urged Reagan on in his new ASC relationship. In 1958 the ASC purchased a collection of 1 million names from the *American Vigilante*. The *Chicago Sun-Times* then described the *Vigilante* as "one of Chicago's most notorious purveyors of anti-Semitic propaganda during the late 1930s and an oldtime labor foe."

In his seminal research into American neo-fascism, historian and former FBI special agent William Turner cites a telling example of the work of the ASC.

At present the dossier system consists of, in the ASC's words, "seven major files and libraries on communism . . ." as well as "the largest private collection of revolutionary activities in America." The index alone consists of over 6 million cards. Although the ASC shuns the implication that it is running a blacklist service, and denies it keeps tabs on individuals as such, it nonetheless has indexed and collated the names and activities of over a million persons and organizations fitting its standards of dubious loyalty.

The dossier service is available to the ASC's 3,500 member firms and organizations who pay dues that may run well over a thousand dollars a year apiece, depending on the number of employees. Industrial members include General Electric, Lockheed, Motorola, Allstate Insurance, Standard Oil of California, General Dynamics (San Diego), Reynolds Metals, Quaker Oats, Honeywell, U.S. Steel, Kraft Foods, Stewart-Warner, Schick-Eversharp, Illinois Central Railroad and, of course, Sears, Roebuck.

The publishing industry is represented by the *Detroit News*, the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, the *Oakland Tribune* and the Henry Regnery book house in Chicago. The financial, university and

foundation worlds are also represented. All told, the ASC members have "millions of employees," presumably all of them loyal to free enterprise.

Once again, Reagan was circulating in the world of the Blacklist. Except that this time the list contained not a few hundred screen personalities, but the people of America.

PATRICK FRAWLEY—Owner of both Schick and Technicolor. Of all Reagan's original supporters, Frawley was the most powerful in the building of an ideological context, a political environment for the future Governor/President. It was Frawley's master plan that Reagan would run for President in 1968. It was intended that Reagan serve only two years as Governor of California—long enough to become a national figure—and then to run on a "Victory in Vietnam" platform against Lyndon Johnson in '68.

Frawley was deeply involved in behavior modification in the political arena, and with Reagan as the subject, California was the laboratory. The Institute for American Democracy ranked Frawley a "number-one man on the Right" and located him at "the center of an ideological apparatus of unprecedented scope," including publishing, newspapers, radio outlets, foundations, psychological behavior-modification centers—and, most ominously, a school for "conflict management" that in reality was a training camp for agents provocateurs.

Several of Frawley's "conflict managers" had been involved with Lee Harvey Oswald in New Orleans and Dallas at the time of the assassination of President Kennedy. After the murder in Dallas one of them had organized national propaganda aimed at an invasion of Cuba, according to the Warren Commission Report.

Frawley geared up the Friends of Ronald Reagan around a program of provocation and propaganda. Everything would be filtered through "The Speech," Reagan's index-carded, all-purpose presentation titled "A Time for Choosing." The speech was a word salad of leftover rhetoric from his SAG days and his GE touring chores, all organized into a coherent battle plan delivered with great animation on behalf of Barry Goldwater in 1964, and polished to a high sheen in the 1966 guber-

natorial campaign by Frawley's minions, Fred and Phyllis Schlafly, and their "conflict managers." It was a speech, with many hidden cues and clues, that must be studied to understand the Reagan regime; revealing excerpts from it are quoted throughout this book.

In 1967 Frawley subsidized a political TV spectacular—*Freedom's Finest Hour*, narrated by Reagan—to launch the 1968 campaign. At the same time, Frawley began a program of local organizing across the country. The organizing tool was a record-and-film kit produced by the Southern California School of Anti-Communism. This "school" was the model for a national network of such schools.

The media kit promoting Reagan for President featured Frawley's 1961 film *Hollywood's Answer to Communism*, which was the record of a rally at the Hollywood Bowl starring Ronald Reagan, the "Reverend" Fred Schwarz, the John Birch Society's Cleon Skousen and representatives of Roy Cohn's American Jewish League against Communism (headed in Los Angeles by the late Rabbi Max Merritt, who, according to Reagan, had long cooperated with the FBI).

Two others involved in Frawley's 1968 plans were his employee, J. Fred Schlafly and wife Phyllis, both of whom would play key roles years later in Reagan's rise to political power.

Frawley also met regularly with Henry Salvatori, Knott, Bloomingdale and other wealthy ideologists close to Reagan.

They had a blueprint. Reagan would run on a pro-military, pro-South Africa, anti-civil rights program. The selling of war and militant anti-communism would be taken care of by Frawley's experts in behavior modification and "conflict management." According to an ABC News executive, Frawley bragged that just as "Niggers, the Watts riots, dirty students, the Cesar Chavez Reds and fair housing won for Ronnie in '66," the same thing, only bigger, would work for the whole country.

All the fronts would be under the control of the American Security Council. The ASC would in turn run, for instance, the rich Free Pacific Association, and the entire Nationalist China-lobby network would be un-

leashed behind Reagan in '68.

Frawley was an open anti-Semite—as were many of Reagan's biggest backers, as was his father-in-law—so again William Buckley had to intervene.

A secret meeting was called for the Reagan Kitchen Cabinet in Bohemian Grove, among northern California's redwood forests. Buckley brought with him an editor from *Life* magazine, a mystery man: C. D. Jackson. A high CIA staff officer in the early 1950s, Jackson had also been one of the prime planners in the formation of the Trilateral Commission and the Bilderberger Group.

Jackson spoke for the old money, for the Eastern Establishment, and what he had to say to Frawley's team of new money/power-brokers was not what they wanted to hear. They would have to do something about Reagan's image, he stated, and he showed them a copy of the California Democratic Council's "book" on Reagan. It was titled: "Ronald Reagan, Extremist Collaborator—An Exposé."

It charged:

That he [Reagan] had collaborated directly with a score of top leaders of the John Birch Society; that his campaign organization is riddled with members of the society; that he supports the programs, policies and projects of numerous extremist fronts; that extremist money from California and Eastern states is an important source of his campaign financing.

Among the supporting evidence were the following facts:

- Reagan had cooperated with Birchers in 1964 to keep the ultra-right-wing magazine *Human Events* financially afloat.
- Reagan was an adviser of the extreme-right Young Americans for Freedom.
- Reagan had campaigned for Congressman John Rousset, a prominent member of the John Birch Society, in 1962.
- Reagan's rightist brain trust are Patrick J. Frawley Jr., president of the Schick Safety Razor Company; Henry Salvatori; Walter Knott; industrialist C. C. Mosely; and a handful of other financially powerful and political men.

The Friends of Ronald Reagan and the candidate himself resented this pressure from the East. But a compromise was worked out: Reagan would make a speech and say:

In my opinion, those persons who are members of the John Birch Society have a decision to make concerning the reckless and imprudent statements of their leader, Mr. Welch [calling President Eisenhower a Communist]. . . .

In all fairness to the members of this society, I believe this statement would be incomplete if I failed to point out that despite heavy criticism of the society by many citizens, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, is on record as stating that the FBI has not investigated the Birch Society because it only investigates subversive organizations.

Furthermore, the California Senate Subcommittee in its 1963 report found the Birch Society to be "a Right, anti-Communist, fundamentalist organization . . . neither secret nor fascist, nor have we found the great majority of its members in California to be mentally unstable, crackpots or hysterical about the threat of Communist subversion.

Privately, the candidate continued to meet and work with state and national representatives of the Birch Society. They were all bitter about Republican Senator Thomas Kuchel's message to GOP moderates: "We must prevent a fanatical neo-fascist political cult from taking over the party." Reagan and his friends were infuriated whenever anyone called their kind of "anti-communism" fascism.

These were a few of the friends of Ronald Reagan.

* * *

*There was the life that has shaped my body and mind for all the years to come after. Sitting in the Family Theatre, watching the marvelous flickering antics of Tom Mix and William S. Hart as they foiled robbers and villains and escorted the beautiful girls to safety, waving back from their horses as they cantered into the sunset. Weeping and laughing boisterously from the second balcony at touring plays like *What Price Glory*.*

—"The Speech" from *Where's the Rest of Me?*,
by Ronald Reagan

* * *

The California Republican establishment was first infiltrated, then smashed by the forces behind Ronald Reagan. In a study of the John Birch Society, Bryan W. Stevens traces the Frawley-Reagan conspiracy to destroy the moderate California GOP led by Senator Thomas Kuchel.

Stevens found that the former top public-relations assistant to Patrick J. Frawley, during some of the period when Frawley's companies were sponsoring right-wing programs, was John F. Fergus. Fergus was convicted, along with three others, on the basis of stealthy circulation of a fake affidavit alleging that Senator Kuchel had been arrested on a homosexual charge. The whole affair to libel Kuchel was proven to be a conspiracy. The other three individuals convicted with Fergus were Norman Krause, a former policeman and a bar operator at the time of the libel trial; Jack Clemmons, a police sergeant who resigned from the Los Angeles police force in order not to testify before a grand jury; and Francis A. Capell of New Jersey, a member of the American Opinion Speakers Bureau of the John Birch Society and editor of the *Herald of Freedom*.

The fake affidavits about Senator Kuchel, Stevens learned, were circulated nationwide by so-called "patriotic" and "Americanism" bookstores, which are usually owned and operated by Birch Society members as a part of the operational activities outlined by Robert Welch in his *Blue Book*.

There can be little question of Reagan's ties to the JBS, according to Stevens. To the point, in August 1962 Reagan was the keynote speaker at a fund-raising dinner for then-Congressman John Rousselot, a Republican running for reelection. The dinner was held at the Huntington-Sheraton Hotel in Pasadena. The existence and nature of the John Birch Society was now public knowledge, and Rousselot was an admitted leader of the society.

In 1964, Stevens went on, Reagan was the California chairman for the Goldwater-Miller Presidential campaign. It was Reagan who announced the abortive "Operation Eagle-Eye," designed to challenge Democratic voters at the polls in the hope of having many Democrats declared ineligible to vote. The project was virtually abandoned by the Republicans by 10 a.m. on Election Day, due to the excesses of radical-Right "poll watchers" and the illegal lists of suspected Democratic voters these "Eagle-Eye" poll watchers distributed to poll workers. "Operation Eagle-Eye" was such a travesty

that the state law with regard to voter challenges had to be changed by the California legislature.

Finally, wrote Stevens, in a private San Francisco hotel meeting in 1965 Reagan made the remarks that would haunt him. He said, "Johnny Rousselot is a terrific fellow. He called Stu Spencer and offered all of his help in my campaign. In fact, he said he would do anything from calling me names in public to endorsement—whatever we want."

1965, Stevens concluded, was the year that Ronald Reagan signed his pact with Frawley, the JBS and the anti-Democratic forces in California and around the country. Money poured into Frawley and "the Friends." The Right had its man at last. Out of the Goldwater defeat of 1964 were born the revenge seekers of 1965. Of them, GOP leader Fred Hall said: "I want to make my position clear. I believe the fanatics of the Birch variety have fastened their fangs in the Republican Party's flank and are hanging on like grim death."

Is this an overstatement? Listen to the words from the *Blue Book*—a volume paid for by The Friends of Ronald Reagan:

The American people . . . can no longer resist the Communist conspiracy as free citizens, but can resist the Communist tyranny only by themselves becoming conspirators against established government. . . . Then, after we have destroyed the Communist tyranny, let's drive on toward our higher goals of more permanent accomplishment; towards an era of less government and more responsibility, in which we can create a better world.

* * *

The tall, erect, sun-tanned man, immaculate in a dark-blue suit and muted tie, waited for the waves of applause to subside. The sky was blue, the sun bright, the audience expectant. They had said he couldn't win the nomination. He had proved them wrong. They had said he couldn't win the general election. He had proved them wrong. Now they were saying that he couldn't govern. He intended to prove them wrong once more.

Nancy dabbed at her eyes, sniffed and squeezed her friend Betsy Bloomingdale's gloved hand. She looked over at

Dr. Loyal, who blew her a silent little kiss. She was First Lady of the state; *she* was a part of history now. She had already seen herself that morning on TV, right after the picture stories of Purdue's victory over USC in the Rose Bowl and MiG-212s downed over North Vietnam. There she had been, right after the top stories, kissing Ronnie and waving to a flock of fans. Well, she whispered in Betsy's ear, just wait and watch how we govern. . . .

What does Nancy know? Betsy Bloomington wondered. What Ronnie and Nancy and all of their helpful "media advisers" knew was that Ronald Reagan and American technology-television-had both arrived at that moment in time when a man and a culture, together, could create destiny. That's the way the young psychologist from Behavior Science had put it: "Like Roosevelt or Hitler and the radio."

People called Ronnie two-dimensional, but Nancy knew better. What if he was a shiny hero, what if candidates around the country would be chosen and made up in his image, what was so wrong with cleanness and decency? That's how Dr. Loyal put it. It was a new day. The "Creative Society" would dawn on TV; how else could you expect to include the public? And that's just how it *did* happen.

It was fun. Ronnie kept banker's hours, there was plenty of time to get down to the ranch, and she enjoyed the traveling press conferences. And Ronnie needed her; if his pancake makeup streaked or his tie went crooked, she knew just how to signal to him. But the joshing and matching of wits with the press, that was the most fun.

Question: Governor, several other governors have indicated that they had been offered a hot-line telephone to the White House. Have you been included in that?

Reagan: I think we have . . . a disaster phone. There is a disaster phone connecting governors. I don't think we can call in. They have to call us. When that one rings, run for the basement. I feel like a little general in *Beatle Bailey*. Do you think I've been overlooked?

Ronnie knew how to avoid the traps that the media was always laying for him. He'd pause and then deliver a zinger, and in the general laughter he'd look back at Nancy and wink.

Question: This week you appointed a Dinuba hardware man, who was your Tulare County campaign chairman, to the post of Chief of the Division of Housing and Community Development. Does this gentleman have any particular background in that field . . . in light of your statements that this administration would find the most-qualified persons for the appointive offices?

Reagan: Well, if he didn't have the qualifications, he wouldn't have been given the position. And it's just a remarkable coincidence that some of the most capable people also happened to support my campaign.

Of course, she and Ronnie knew that most of the media had supported former Governor Pat Brown. But Ronnie never slipped.

Question: Governor, it hasn't been very long since you said the state's financial resources had been drained and looted by the previous administration. Now you're saying that you really haven't been able to find even 10% from that previous administration's budget that you could logically cut. What kind of draining and what kind of looting is that?

Reagan: Well, I'll use the first word, 'draining,' now. . . . We are left with the problem of raising additional revenue to make up that \$180 million.

Question: Shouldn't you have been able to make some very massive cuts in there then? . . .

Reagan: Well, what would you suggest doing without?

The worst hatchet job was the mental-health thing. She and Ronnie and Dr. Loyal and all the Friends of Ronald Reagan saw eye-to-eye on psychiatry. Brainwashing! Some of Ronnie's jokes about Dr. Freud were so dirty but so funny that Nancy could hardly keep a straight face whenever the press insisted on harping on the mental-health mess.

Question: Do mental hospitals have discretion under Civil Service? Can they lay off people who are permanent staff?

Reagan: Well, I'm not going to get into the complicated area of all of those rules because, very frankly, I only know there are many of them, and I'm not familiar enough with them.

Question: Exactly how will the in-patient treatment of alcoholics be handled to replace the program at Mendocino State Hospital, since there is no other similar treatment available for these patients either on the state or county level?

Reagan: Well, I can't answer that for you right now because there are a lot of details in this that we are still studying.

Question: Governor, on mental health, have you had a

chance to read the Commission report on staff and standards?

Reagan: No, this is in the hands of our Department [of Health and Welfare] now, and I haven't.

Question: Isn't it true that for example at Sonoma [State Hospital] there are fewer staff available to treat the patients than there were in January?

Reagan: There may be some fewer. I don't know.

Question: Governor, you say you are going to Los Alamos to see the atomic plant because you want to get a firsthand look as a Regent [of the University of California]. Yet you don't want to visit, say, a state mental hospital . . . because you don't feel you are qualified in that field. What is the distinction: Are you more of a scientist?

Reagan: Well, I think you are trying to compare apples and oranges. Incidentally, speaking of that, I owe the governor of Pennsylvania a case of oranges. . . . I have not been immune to looking at institutions of that kind. I have been in a number of mental hospitals, but not since I've been governor. The thing that we are dealing with is factual information on the part of these institutions. . . .

Then that Socialist, medicine-man minister of health from Denmark was brought in by outside agitators, and the press loved it when the Dane said, "In our country we wouldn't treat cattle that way," referring to the California state mental-hospital system. But Ronnie got even on that one.

Question: The Assistant Superintendent of Agnew [State Hospital] has said that under the Civil Service regulations they have to lay off the psychiatric technician trainees because they are probationary employees. When your economy program or freeze [on hiring] is changed, they are not going to have anybody to draw on. This is going to have an effect for years to come. What is your comment?

Reagan: Well, my comment is going to sound a little harsh. I don't mean to tell someone else his business, but I'll tell you this: Every time we tried to effect an economy in this state, I have found that there are certain individuals directly involved whose only approach to economy seems to be to try and make the cut where it will hurt the most and be the most damaging in order to muster public opinion on their side.

Then Nancy and Ronnie did visit a hospital, Camarillo, and everyone saw that Ronnie's system of sharing mental-health problems with the private sector was working. But the best was when ex-Governor Pat Brown stuck his big nose into it. Brown blabbed that:

Immediately after Reagan's tour at Camarillo the Union of State Employees charged that it was a "peak-a-boo glance" and that a Hollywood-type setting had been arranged in advance for the Governor's announced visit. The union's officials said that, for the day of Reagan's visit, new clothing was issued to patients, additional shifts of employees were put into duty in the wards, and that bare spots in the lawns surrounding the hospital had been dyed green.

Ronnie's response stole the show: "Even in-laws sweep the carpet and polish things up when you come for a visit."

But Nancy told Betsy that it was all a smear-and-scare campaign to stop Ronnie from getting to the White House someday. Like the story that they paid no state income taxes. They hadn't, but everything was legal. The story had been written for only one reason: to paint Ronnie as a rich man's candidate. But as Ronnie says, "What I want to see above all else is that this country remains a country where someone can always get rich. That's the thing that we have, and that must be preserved."

Nancy believed she knew what it was like to be poor because she had nightmares about it, according to one biographer, even though she had always been rich, thanks to Dr. Loyal.

Then there was the race-backlash scare. Nancy hated the whole race thing. Yes, Ronnie had opposed the 1964 Civil Rights bill, but only because he thought it was "poorly drawn." The same with the California open-housing bill, abortion, women's rights and so on and so on. It didn't really bother her, though, because those nice professors had warned the Reagans during the campaign about the power of fear—including racial fear—as a political tool.

The boys from Behavior Science (B.S.) knew all about that sort of thing.

National columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak reported that the "Birch issue indeed is dead. . . . Polls taken by both camps showed Californians—particularly the 60% of the state's population that lives in Los Angeles, Orange and San Diego counties in Southern California—couldn't care less about the John Birch Society or right-wing extremism issue. What bothers them much more is the Negro revolution and high taxes."

"The public is afraid!" was the constant message from the

boys at Behavior Science. They tutored Nancy and Ronnie: "The public votes its fears. The Democrats attack you on 'Race.' You attack them on 'Berkeley,' 'Free Speech,' 'Dirty Speech,' 'Free Love,' 'Terrorism,' etc."

It worked. The big break was the endorsement by their hometown newspaper, the *Los Angeles Times*:

The election of Ronald Reagan as Governor, and Robert H. Finch as Lieutenant Governor, will be in the best interests of California.

That's when they knew they could go after the student agitators, and the liberals would be handcuffed. That's what Behavior Science said, and all the facts and figures from all the polls on all the issues were stored in their black books.

These books—there would be eight of them before the campaign ended—contained 5" X 8" cards on which basic facts were written. From these books Ronnie would take the information for his speeches, which he wrote on 3" X 5" cards. In addition, two Behavior Science professors gave him position papers on issues that "he could react to and sharpen up his own philosophy."

The two professors or an assistant—and the black books—would accompany Ronnie on every campaign trip.

If he didn't know an answer, the behavioral scientist and the black books would be consulted. And if the answer wasn't available on the road, a phone call would be made to Behavior Science's office in Van Nuys, where an assistant would look it up. This technique permitted Reagan to counter the skepticism with which his candidacy was first greeted. He had B.S. behind him, plus "The Speech." That's why it all seemed so easy, Nancy said.

Everything went like clockwork, Nancy told Betsy, except when Ronnie was accused of bigotry at the National Negro Republican Assembly in Santa Monica. These were all Rockefeller stooges anyway, like Jackie Robinson, and Ronnie told them off and walked out. But the boys from Behavior Science said that was good, *not* bad, because the public was sick and tired of blacks calling them bigots when they weren't. So after that, Ronnie would often kind of let himself get mad and show it.

The boys from B.S. pointed out that the people had to respect, even be a teeny bit afraid, of their leader. At first that

hadn't sounded quite right to her, Nancy said, but then one of the B.S. boys read her a passage from his book on behavior modification:

"What we need first, last and all the time is a good, sound business administration.' That is the voice of Main Street talking. The little businessman. . . . He boasts and boasts with all his fellows, sings and cheers and prays with the throng, derides all differences, denounces all dissent—and all to climb with the crowd. With the supremacy of public relations, he abolishes human relations."

She hated it, though, when scruffy Lyn Nofziger insisted on calling for a "class war" just to put her teeth on edge, but Ronnie wouldn't fire him because, he told her, "We need one bomb thrower and, besides, Lyn's all right. He's got guts. Why, even in high school he brought the names of subversive teachers before the California little HUAC to get them fired."

She had to admit that Nofziger was on the mark when he repeated that the public had had it up to here with all the welfare bums and tramps who were taking their money. If that was what Lyn meant by class war, why not say that the decent working people were going to take back from the slackers and the tramps what was theirs, and if it came to a fight, then all the muggers and robbers would go to state prison. Period.

So they let the public know that the welfare cheats were going to stop picking their pockets. And that's why they brought in Lewis Uhler to head their Office of Economic Opportunity, even if he *had* been a member of the John Birch Society. Ed Meese said he would perform radical surgery on the "Welfare Men." As a doctor's daughter, Nancy understood radical surgery, and so did Ronnie because of the amputation he underwent as a character in *King's Row*.

Half the people are Democrats and half are Republicans, and the other 10% are undecided, and that 10%, the Independents, are the ones *you can scare into voting for your man*. That's what the boys from B.S. taught them. Everyone is scared—of crime, of race, of war, of communism—but most of all their fears are personal. If Ronnie tells them what to be scared of, he'll win by that 10%. He'll get the Independent vote.

After that, Nancy lost interest in the nuts and bolts of the campaign. It was all a lot of talk—talk about the Spanish vote,

the German vote, the Italian vote, the lemon vote, the walnut vote, the radical vote, the conservative vote, the Socialist vote, the golf-club vote, the Montgomery Street vote, the Spring Street vote, the South of Market vote, the Negro vote, the rural vote, the urban vote . . . talk, talk, talk, talk. How Ronnie loved to talk.

She understood it all now, and it was great fun. She and Ronnie were afraid of one thing though. That dirty *Rolling Stone* magazine was investigating Ronnie's finances. They were leftist hippies and didn't count. But the *Wall Street Journal* was after him too. The *Journal* could hurt—even if everyone knew it was, as Ronnie called it, "a Rockefeller rag."

* * *

Combined investigations by the *Stone* and the *Journal* reveal that only one month after Reagan was elected Governor of California in 1966, he sold 236 acres of his yearling ranch to Twentieth Century-Fox for \$1.9 million. He had paid only \$85,000 for the land—\$275 an acre. Twentieth Century-Fox gave him \$8,178 an acre. The transaction made Reagan a millionaire. The ranch was appraised for tax purposes by the county assessor, who served on Reagan's executive campaign committee, at \$850,000.

Much terrain in that part of the Santa Monica Mountains is unworkable. Running through that wilderness, however, is a beautiful valley consisting of about one-third of the 236 acres. For years the Reagans had ranched here, a 30-minute drive from their Pacific Palisades mansion. Following the sale of the ranch to Fox, Reagan's son managed the ranch, and Ronnie and Nancy used it as they always had when in town.

Rolling Stone and the *Wall Street Journal* took a new look at Reagan's ties to the studio. The Zanuck family, which controlled Fox in 1966, publicly backed Reagan's gubernatorial campaigning, and the movie company contributed \$2,500 to his 1970 reelection. In 1967 Reagan had appointed attorney Harry Sokolov, then executive assistant to the president of Fox, as chairman of the State Parks and Recreation Board, which later bought the land from Fox.

Rolling Stone investigators spent the month of June

1976 trying to find out why Twentieth Century-Fox had originally decided to make Reagan rich. A top Los Angeles County official, who asked to remain anonymous, had one theory. "My conclusion is that the land deal was part of a bribe." According to him, Reagan returned Fox's favor in 1968 by signing a controversial tax bill that gave the motion-picture industry a wholesale tax break on its film inventory.

A high state official, one of California's most powerful Democrats, offered an alternative theory based on an investigation he had conducted in 1970. "We spent a long time looking into this because it always smelled funny to me," he said. "We came away with the feeling that Twentieth Century-Fox was a pawn in the deal. We figured Reagan's gang put up the money."

Both *Rolling Stone* and the *Journal* traced the money. Fox had been a conduit. The cash had come from the 57th Madison Corporation, which shares a floor with a foundation for research in blindness. An official there referred all questions to "a Dr. Jules Stein of California." Stein, 80, was cofounder of the Los Angeles-based Music Corporation of America (MCA), one of the largest movie, record and television conglomerates in the world. Stein admitted that the parcel was 57th Madison's only speculative real estate in California. But he did not mention that Universal Studios, which is owned by MCA, hired former Fox President Richard Zanuck after Fox's 1966 land deal and that Stein himself served as a trustee of Reagan's trust when it sold the remaining 54 acres of Reagan's Santa Monica land to a holding or front company called "Santa Rosa." This 54 acres was appraised by the assessor at only one-seventh of its market value. The millions involved were a fortune to Reagan, but the merest fraction of the profits MCA owed to Reagan's intervention in the SAG negotiations with MCA-Reagan's famous "waiver."

Stein, one of California's wealthiest men, had a long-standing personal and business relationship with Reagan. In the early '50s Reagan helped Stein's MCA achieve a major financial breakthrough. Stein wanted to expand MCA, then a talent agency representing Reagan and other actors, into the production of TV shows. The move required a special waiver from the Screen Actors

Guild. Reagan, a former six-term Guild president then on its board of directors, used his influence there to make certain that MCA received the waiver.

Stein's stepson owns Oppenheimer Industries Inc., a firm that specializes in providing tax shelters for people with six-figure incomes. Reagan's taxes became a serious consideration in the late '60s after the sale of his ranch left him with nearly \$2 million to invest. Some of the money went to Oppenheimer to buy beef cattle on ranches in Wyoming, Nevada and Montana, an investment that Reagan then wrote off on his tax returns.

Reagan's tax payments in the past decades reflect a skillful use of tax breaks available to the very rich. Reagan has been saving about \$11,500 a year in taxes on his ranch near Santa Barbara because it is assessed for agriculture rather than at its true value, a maneuver that has been generally criticized as a tax loophole for land barons. A law firm hired by President Ford's campaign reviewed Reagan's tax data and concluded that to escape paying taxes, he is also manipulating trust funds for his children.

The *New York Times* hired tax experts who determined that Reagan also had paid no federal income taxes in 1970 and in two other years had paid only a fraction of the amount warranted by his tax bracket. For the three years in question his taxes approximated those of a \$20,000-a-year electrician, while his earnings approached those of a \$100,000-a-year executive.

Senate Watergate testimony, based on information requested by the Nixon Administration, had previously revealed that the Internal Revenue Service found Reagan did not pay \$14,101 in 1962-65 federal taxes he owed. Alone among post-Watergate Presidential candidates, Reagan had refused to make full disclosure of his personal finances, including his taxes and his business dealings with his millionaire friends.

The Santa Rosa deal gave Reagan a 777-acre ranch in Riverside County, California. At the time, he claimed that William French Smith and his trustees had handled all negotiations and that he planned to use the new land only for recreation. Apparently, neither statement was true. Taft Schreiber, another member of Reagan's clos-

et cabinet, told the *Wall Street Journal* that Reagan personally "instigated" the deal in an apparent violation of the terms of the trust. Schreiber also said Reagan viewed the Riverside ranch as a profit-making venture. Reagan's land is adjacent to parcels owned by the Schreiber family and Smith. All three gambled that plans for a nearby airport and racetrack, both of which have since been abandoned, would launch a land boom.

Schreiber was Jules Stein's right-hand man at MCA and also one of Reagan's longtime agents; he created Reagan's role as host of *GE Theater*. When he broke with Reagan and decided to back Ford in 1976, he became the first close associate of Reagan willing to discuss the workings of his inner circle.

There was a further problem. Reagan's fees for speaking engagements, radio and newspaper were enormous. Thus, "Reagan's Radio Project" was set up as a tax-deductible foundation in Virginia. The problem was that the "project" was a dependency of the Young American Foundation, and the "foundation," in turn, was a front of the Young Americans for Freedom. And the YAF was the CIA-connected shell set up by Reagan and others in the home of old friend William F. Buckley in 1960 and taken over in California in 1965 by the John Birch Society.

Lifeguarding provides one of the best vantage points in the world to learn about people. During my career [as a lifeguard] I saved 77 people. . . .

I got to recognize that people hate to be saved: Almost every one of them later sought me out and angrily denounced me for dragging them to shore. "I would have been fine if you'd let me alone," was their theme. "You made a fool out of me trying to make a hero out of yourself."

—"The Speech" from *Where's the Rest of Me?*,
by Ronald Reagan

The savage cutting of all health and social services, the attacks on fair housing, farm workers and the university—all this was the overt history of the Reagan administration in California, together with the hail-fellow, nice-guy denials of responsibility and outright lies with which the Governor shook off the occasional searching question. But it's the covert record that most needs illu-

mination in understanding how Reagan became President.

It was at that secret campground of national power, Bohemian Grove, that Reagan stepped aside in 1968 for his old mentor Richard Nixon. Deep in the redwoods, where no women are allowed and the captains of industry and their political managers stand naked in the firelight—drinking, dancing, singing football songs, urinating on the giant trees—there Reagan told his friends that he would do as they asked.

Since Nixon already had the Southern delegates wrapped up in his "Southern strategy" to gut the civil-rights movement, Reagan would not enter the 1968 Presidential primaries. He would wait for another year.

Reagan would serve eight years in California, would build his base of support, would become a prime mover in "Operation Garden Plot."

Garden Plot was a state and national covert operation designed, in the words of J. Edgar Hoover, to "disrupt, neutralize and destroy" the New Left, the antiwar student movement, the civil-rights and radical and Chicano labor movements, and all forms of dissidence that could conveniently be placed under the heading of "terrorism."

Men who would figure prominently in his campaign right through 1984 were chosen to coordinate Garden Plot in California, to build a clandestine network from the local to the national level: Ed Meese, Michael Deaver, William Clark, Lowell Jensen, Lyn Nofziger, Evelle Younger, William French Smith, Pat Frawley and the Kitchen Cabinet, the American Security Council (ASC) and agents for the California Growers Association. They would be the liaison to local and state Red squads (police undercover units searching for subversives) and to the FBI, CIA and the national-intelligence community, as it had come to be called.

The Highway Patrol, National Guard, military intelligence, the John Birch Society and its friends, the American Legion and right-wing evangelical anti-Communist church networks—even the motorcycle vigilante and Ku Klux Klan subcultures—would play an undercover role. All would be welded into a secret weapon

that would smash "those who would weaken our free-enterprise system," as the American Security Council likes to describe the enemy.

Telecommunications would link the fingers of Garden Plot into a sophisticated, computerized fist. There were rehearsals, training exercises carried out on military bases, orientation for counterinsurgency, conferences, reports. "If they want a bloodbath, let's get it over with," said Reagan, referring to the antiwar and civil-rights movements.

Garden Plot began in a computer. Senator Sam Ervin's subcommittee on Constitutional rights discovered the computer in 1971, a full year after beginning its historical investigation into the massive domestic operations of military intelligence. "At no time during the first year of the subcommittee's investigation," its staff report states, "did either the Army or the Department of Defense admit that a computer on civilian political activity existed within the Pentagon's domestic war room."

The subcommittee discovered computerized files on 18,000 of the celebrated and the obscure, on people such as Senator George McGovern and former Massachusetts Governor Francis Sargent Down to ordinary citizens who had, sometimes unknowingly, become "associated with known militant groups."

How does the Pentagon define "militant groups"? Documents from its war-games sessions provide some idea. At the Cable Splicer III After Action Conference, hosted by Reagan in California in May 1970, Los Angeles Police Department Captain Don Miller observed that militant groups are easy to identify since they "are normally organized according to political beliefs and/or ethnic backgrounds."

Generalizations are accurate, noted Lynn "Buck" Compton, the Los Angeles prosecutor of Sirhan Sirhan, because there's "really very little difference between the Sirhans, the [Jerry] Rubins, the [Bobby] Seales, the [Abbie] Hoffmans and the people of that stripe in that all resort to physical violence to achieve political goals."

In a "revolutionary criminology" lecture listing activities that "require police action," LAPD Inspector

John A. McAllister mentioned "loud, boisterous or obscene" behavior on beaches, "love-in type gatherings in parks where in large numbers they freak out," disruptions of "legitimate activities by gangs of noisy and sometimes-violent dissidents," peace marches, rock festivals (where "violence is commonplace and sex is unrestrained") and "campus disruptions—which in fact are nothing more than mini-revolutions."

The guests at the Cable Splicer Conference, including the Governor and his men, listened and learned. Cable Splicer I was conducted in California in May 1968, barely a month after the Army Task Group had been organized. Held at the California National Guard's training academy at the San Luis Obispo camp, the conference was attended by 307 law-enforcement and military officials from all over the state. It was designed as a workshop seminar on civil-disturbance control. There, saluting and proud, posed Governor Reagan.

Cable Splicer II was a bigger affair. It began on February 10, 1969, with the Governor's orientation conference as kickoff for a series of joint military-police training sessions across the state of California. Before an audience of 500—including generals from the Pentagon, the Sixth Army and the National Guard; dozens of lesser officers, police chiefs and sheriffs from as far east as Washington, D.C.; plus California state legislators; a dozen military-intelligence officers; and executives from telephone, utility and defense-contract companies—Governor Ronald Reagan took the microphone.

It was a week after he had promised to keep California's universities open at the point of a bayonet if necessary. "You know," he began, "there are people in the state who, if they could see this gathering right now and my presence here, would decide that their worst fears and convictions had been realized—I was planning a military takeover." No one laughed.

The Cable Splicer II counterinsurgency war games, which were played a month later, would only have reinforced those fears and convictions. The games were organized around 23 existing political jurisdictions, usually at the city, county or regional level, across California.

Cable Splicer was conducted in secrecy, and even today the Pentagon coverup continues.

The official plan forbade all advance publicity and warned that if either the war games or the Governor's pep rallies were discovered, the two were not to be connected. And if that defense line was breached, there was another line to fall back on: The role of the Sixth Army was to be concealed. Throughout the training sessions, military participants were to dress in civvies "to prevent adverse publicity or misleading psychological effects." No Cable Splicer was to arrive at a local police department in a military vehicle.

Colonel Anthony Palumbo, formerly chief of police/community relations for the Law-Enforcement Assistance Administration in Washington, had denied any connection between Cable Splicer and Garden Plot, between Reagan's orientation conference and the war games, between the Army and Cable Splicer—although he conceded that the Army donated some money (\$95 million of the California National Guard's \$100-million budget that year), and that Cable Splicer was run as a National Guard training exercise. But researchers have been able to piece together elements of the scenario:

The war game unfolds: saturation of [disrupted] areas with police and military patrols, evacuate civilians to preclude their interference with operation and/or to ensure their safety . . . the police detain radical leaders, leaving only some "remaining loose militants." . . .

How can such military sweeps be justified legally short of a declaration of martial law? Cable Splicer scenarios provide for "an orderly progression from state to federal control."

Cable Splicer II and III called for the creation of a school offering a "long-range training program" to provide "exchange of law-enforcement officers and military officers" with the goal of establishing "a nucleus of officers (both law enforcement and military) at every level of government who were conversant with the doctrine, tactics or each other." Their prayer was answered by Ronald Reagan with the creation in May 1971 of the California Specialized Training Institute.

The "Civil Emergency Management Course Manu-

al" at the San Luis Obispo school is a virtual handbook for counterrevolution. Examining the motives behind "revolutionary activity," the manual's author finds the causes legitimate, the frustration often well-justified, the "revolutionaries basically sincere." That is exactly why the threat is so dangerous. The manual and the course describe how that threat should be met. The methods? Press manipulation, computerized radical-spotting, logistical support from other agencies . . . and martial law.

During Reagan's second term as Governor, through 1974, 4,063 officials of the National Guard, the Army, local police forces, fire services, city government, courts, legislatures, utilities, prisons and *private corporations* attended this course in San Luis Obispo. Under Reagan the practice of corporate vigilantism, not seen since the 1930s, was revived. Power companies, with Reagan's blessing, began to amass dossiers on environmentalists under the heading of "terrorism." In 1980 James Watt would refer to this struggle between "environmentalists and Americans."

According to Ron Ridenhour's exhaustive study of Garden Plot in *New Times* magazine, Reagan had set up a virtual secret base for counterrevolution. So secret that none of the elected officials in the state knew what was happening. Congressman Clair Burgener (R-California), for example, is a staunch conservative who attended Governor Reagan's Cable Splicer II kickoff conference. Yet he had never heard of Cable Splicer. "I've read *Seven Days in May* and all those scare books." But he never knew that the brief public-relations luncheon he barely remembers was connected to a series of military-police war games. "If this was going on in this spirit," he says, "they were certainly pulling the wool over the eyes of the invited guests. . . . This is what I call subversive," he told *New Times*.

"We are in a revolution," California Chief Deputy Attorney General Charles O'Brien told his Cable Splicer III audience in May 1970.

"Here in this room today," chipped in prosecutor Buck Compton, "we have at least a nucleus of people who should be able to, in some measure, contribute to

the counterrevolution."

In his opening address Glenn C. Ames, commanding general of the California National Guard, told the gathering of military officers, policemen, civilian officials and business executives: "The avowed mission of these Anarchists and revolutionaries is to bring America to its knees, to destroy our present system of government, to defeat 'the Establishment' at every turn and to replace this with absolutely nothing but irresponsibility, a drug culture and permissiveness."

The one thing everyone in the room had in common, declared John A. McAllister of the L.A. Police Department, "is that we recognize that the nation is involved in a revolution."

Under the pompadour, behind the crooked grin of Ronald Reagan, were Garden Plot and Cable Splicer. Much of what we know about both is thanks to the Fund for Investigative Journalism and its reporters Ron Ridenhour and Arthur Lubow. Later, other researchers learned that Garden Plot and Cable Splicer were connected to the privately financed American Security Council Subversive List, the John Birch Society Research Center and thus—at a deeper level of security—back to Reagan and his Kitchen Cabinet, including the big California Growers Association.

* * *

Ronnie had needed Nancy as never before after he found out about the "illness" infecting his Cabinet. Nancy and Ronnie were enjoying a weekend at the elegant Coronado Hotel near San Diego when Lyn Nofziger—Nancy believed that this man dressed as a tramp out of a personal spite against her—led a delegation of aides into their suite to present evidence of a Reagan Administration homosexual ring in Sacramento. Ronnie was stunned—these were men with families—and Drew Pearson ran the story. What to do? Ronnie called Pearson a liar, and Nancy cheered when the liberal columnist was warned by the Governor "not to spit on the sidewalk" if he ever set foot in California. As for Nofziger, he was kept at a distance for a while at least.

The Friends insisted that the Reagans live in a rented

mansion. The *Saturday Evening Post* was not funny, she thought, referring to her as "playing out some middle-class American woman's daydream, circa 1948. The set for the daydream is perfectly dressed, every detail correct. . . . Everyone on the set smiles, the social secretary, the state guard, the cook, the gardeners." Not funny. And according to her biographer, she told the *Post* so in an imaginary dialogue as she soaked in a warm bath. She liked to soak and tell off her enemies in her imagination.

She liked it when Ronnie got tough with demonstrators, etc. But she always had to repeat to him that he was too soft, that he had to learn how to be hard. That's probably why he called her "Mommy," because she told him he had to be hard. That's what she thought about as she soaked in her foamy tub.

"There's never a dull moment," she told Betsy Bloomingdale. "Thanks to the liberal press, now we have the homos on our hands." If only the press could be decent. Like Walter Annenberg, for instance. When Ronnie had gone to Philadelphia for a big fund-raising GOP dinner and the dinner had been picketed by all kinds of welfare types, some little reporter for the *Inquirer* wrote a story mentioning "mink-and-cashmere" clad dinner guests in limousines and about poor people fighting with the chauffeurs to open doors and handing out leaflets reading, "Not All God's Children Have Shoes," and how the dinner guests "coldly brushed by" the ragged demonstrators. Well, Mr. Annenberg had taken care of *that* reporter.

Never a dull moment. Like when the Reagan's daughter Patti ran away on the very day that Ronnie was to receive the Father of the Year Award. Or when Ron Jr. screamed at her in front of other kids during a touch-football game when she tried to make the referee order the other boys not to be so rough with young Ronnie. Then there was Nofziger with those smelly cigars and filthy sports jackets. It was enough, she told friends, to make you take Valium, and so she did, a lot, and that made her pals in the Colleagues worry about her. That's why the Colleagues insisted that Nancy come down to Beverly Hills to have her hair done, to lunch and gossip at the Bistro Garden and to buy with them at the new Gucci's.

Sitting on their banquette at the Bistro, Betsy told Nancy all the dirt. They giggled. Then Betsy told her a sensational

and twisted story of sex and power. Nancy cried. The story was about Betsy's husband, Alfred Bloomingdale. Alfred was going through "change of life," Betsy laughed, but still she was worried. Nancy understood because of Al Capp. Capp, the famous creator of *L'il Abner*, had been arrested on sex charges with students, charges that Nancy wouldn't repeat, but he was getting medical attention. Not to worry—these things happened to lots of good conservatives. Ronnie even dropped Capp a note to cheer him up, because Capp had supported Ronnie's "Get tough on students" policy all the way.

Capp loved Ronnie's note.

One of these days perhaps we can get together and you can give me a few tips on how to come up with some of the lines you use. Or better yet, tell me how I can get away with a little thievery now and then.

* * *

Alfred Bloomingdale was one of Reagan's liaisons to the powerful California Growers Association. Bloomingdale was also involved in the Garden Plot planning and the Bohemian Grove scheming to get the Presidency for Reagan. With Frawley, Bloomingdale designed a series of propaganda smear attacks against a range of enemies. A chief target was Cesar Chavez and his Farm Workers Union (UFWOC).

Working with a list of rightist propagandists, many of them close to William Buckley, the disinformation was circulated throughout the state and nationwide: "Chavez is a former poolroom hanger-on who forced the grape workers to knuckle under. . . . Workers hate him, bitterly oppose his Farm Workers Union . . . revolutionary, Atheist. . . . By shrewd manipulation of the mass media he was able to convince the world that the community that pays the highest farm wages in the continental United States was starving and oppressed. . . ."

This propaganda campaign was the screen behind which the Reagan Administration brought in Teamster Union goons to destroy the Chavez Farm Workers Union. Reagan personally was involved in this strategy. It was he, in the 1947-50 period at SAG, who had been cen-

tral in the jurisdictional war between the Teamster-crime unions and the leftist AFL crafts unions. Reagan had, in that earlier labor strife, exploited the crime-and-communism issue to his great political advantage; it had been the secret of his rise inside SAG, and outside it as an informer or agent of the FBI, HUAC, the producers and the Nixon forces. Now, he reasoned, the same tactics would work again; so the Growers Association was told, through Bloomingdale and others, to deal secretly with the Teamsters. They did, and it brought war to the fields.

A Labor Department report spells out some of the secret Reagan plans to wreck the farm workers. The front was called the Agricultural Workers Freedom to Work Association (AWFWA). The report declared that AWFWA was and had been from the beginning an organization set up by the growers, with the support of the John Birch Society, to fight the effect of Chavez's union by disrupting UFWOC efforts to organize and boycott, to seek worker support for AWFWA (propaganda, free picnics, no dues), to obtain information on Chavez sympathizers, activities, future plans, and so forth. The AWFWA staff was paid through a front outfit that called itself Mexican-Americans for Democratic Action and was furnished office space and typewriters at the Edison Highway headquarters of the Giumarra Corporations in Bakersfield.

In early March UFWOC announced that court action would be filed in Bakersfield against the John Birch Society, the National Freedom to Work Committee and a group of growers on grounds of conspiracy to form an illegal employer-dominated union.

Meanwhile, Reagan (claiming that AWFWA no longer existed) had sent a Teamster agent on an anti-boycott lecture tour of the Eastern cities. Reagan's ally in this plan was the National Right to Work Committee. There were other fronts modeled on CIA labor operations in Latin America—this was Buckley's influence—and there were organized "scab" and Teamster confrontations that were funded by Bloomingdale and the Friends.

The violence and secrecy were built on a long histo-

ry of racism and exploitation. One no longer sees signs in the farm communities that read, "No Dogs or Mexicans Allowed." They were commonplace throughout the Southwest during the youth of Cesar Chavez. In the late '30s, vigilantism was organized by the growers behind a front called the Associated Farmers—which made no secret of its admiration for fascism in Europe—and engaged in open terrorism of strikers.

Reagan and Friends set about, from 1967 on, the formation of a range of fronts that were directly descended from the growers' hate groups earlier in the century. The Teamster tradition too was a long one. Over the years, Teamster Union officials have broken many strikes, especially in farm labor when Spanish-speaking workers have sought to build unions of their own choice. Once again Teamsters, gangsters and growers would work together—this time under Governor Reagan.

Reagan's long-term strategy was carried on in the Senate by George Murphy, famous for stating that Mexicans could work as pickers because they "were closer to the ground." Murphy represented, with keen enthusiasm, the *bracero* program. If cheap Mexican labor could pour over the border during the harvest season and then return, what chance did a permanent Farm Workers Union have? Only the end of the *bracero* program had stabilized the Californian work force sufficiently for Chavez's union-organizing to take hold.

Bankers found it impossible to restrain their delight with the situation during the period when *braceros* flooded California's fields. "When a banker gets down on the farm, it's hard to hold back the superlatives," said the January 1965 Southern California report of the Security First National Bank.

It was during the *bracero* era that Chavez displayed his talent for utilizing press coverage that later became a major factor in calling national and international attention to the struggle he was leading in the Delano fields.

In the Oxnard, California, area Chavez headed the Community Service Organization (CSO), which was in increasingly militant confrontation with the local growers' association and the California Farm Placement Ser-

vice. The resulting publicity touched off a probe, after which the chief of the State Farm Placement Service and two other officials resigned under pressure, and another top official in the state agency was fired after it had been demonstrated that he had accepted bribes from the local growers. It was an omen of things to come.

By 1968 the Reagan-Friends-Growers conspiracy against the Farm Workers Union was so intense that Chavez went on a hunger strike to call attention to the deteriorating situation. When Senator Robert Kennedy flew to Delano to consult with his friend, both were warned by anti-Reagan men in the California attorney general's office that they might be in danger.

This was March 1968. While Kennedy talked with Chavez, a message pledging support arrived from Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Plans for a King-Chavez meeting in April were discussed with Senator Kennedy. The National Coalition of the Poor and labor would be the backbone of RFK's Presidential campaign. By April, Dr. King would be dead; by June, Senator Kennedy had been shot down; by July a plot against Chavez's life had surfaced—the first of several.

The growers were desperate. In the 1968 Presidential campaign, scab grapes became an issue. Vice President Hubert Humphrey and three U.S. senators—Kennedy, McGovern and Eugene McCarthy—were among those vying for the Democratic Party Presidential nomination who endorsed the boycott. On the Republican side, Richard Nixon and California Governor Ronald Reagan ostentatiously had grapes on their campaign banquet tables at the height of the boycott.

Despite multimillion-dollar lawsuits by the growers and high-powered professional public-relations campaigns against the boycott, it continued to affect grape sales adversely. Attempts by the Defense Department to bolster lagging sales by making grapes one of its prized culinary delicacies on armed services tables in Vietnam and in Europe resulted in picket lines at military bases, where farm workers and antiwar activists joined in common cause.

All anti-labor forces joined in denouncing the boycott. Jack Pandol, a Reagan backer who was one of the

leaders of the anti-union California Right-to-Work Committee, called the boycott "unmoral, illegal, un-Christian and un-American." A last-ditch stalling attempt by Governor Reagan to "hold elections in the fields" was rejected as a sham by the UFWOC. "Too little, too late," was the UFWOC's response to Reagan's public suggestion.

By mid-July the circle around Delano was tightening. More than one-third of all table-grape firms were under contract with Chavez's union. But Red-baiting of the union intensified. One bumper sticker put out by the growers read: "Reds, Lettuce Alone!" The red-and-black UFWOC Aztec eagle banners were countered by opponents of the union with flags of the United States.

The clergy, which had negotiated a tenuous armistice between the Teamsters and the UFWOC, was also targeted for public criticism by a newly formed committee called Citizens for Local Justice. Its bumper stickers read: "Boycott the Church, Pray Direct!" Reagan was a secret sponsor of the group, through Ed Meese.

Appointment records reveal that war councils were constant now between Reagan and the growers. A longtime Chavez legal aide was badly beaten by a man who could be traced to Alfred Bloomingdale. That had the Kitchen Cabinet worried.

Beset by legal, legislative and other problems, the Farm Workers Union was constantly on a war footing. Its highly centralized union leadership was further inhibited by the dramatic revelation at the end of 1971 that a "contract" had been issued on the life of Cesar Chavez. Security was tightened to protect his life.

Meanwhile, the American Farm Bureau opened up a state-by-state campaign to outlaw secondary boycotts by agricultural workers unions, aimed at crippling this most effective weapon of the new Farm Workers Union.

In July 1971 the union and labor movement in California mobilized 4,500 protesters for a Sacramento rally in front of the capitol. Reagan, through his aides Meese and Clark, gave orders for police to disrupt the march. Provocations and arrests ensued.

Having failed in their attempt to get the Califor-

nia state legislature to enact legislation to inhibit the UFWOC, the growers—with Reagan's support—sought to accomplish the same thing in a statewide initiative vote in November 1972. All of the anti-union forces in the state, including the JBS and the American Nazi Party, were involved, working precincts to get this initiative on the ballot.

The Teamsters, who so many times before had appeared on the agricultural scene when growers were in need of a disruptive force to abort a potentially successful effort to organize farm workers, reportedly began meetings with growers during 1972. The public expression of Teamster involvement came at a strange place—the National Convention of the American Farm Bureau in Los Angeles, where Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons, in December 1972, became the first labor official to address this traditionally anti-labor organization.

Brutal beatings soon became commonplace, and in one instance in Coachella the Reverend John Bank, publicity director for the UFWOC, was sitting in a restaurant with a *Wall Street Journal* reporter when a Teamster "guard" smashed him in the face, breaking his nose.

By the early 1970s Teamster violence was compounded by law-enforcement brutality. Reagan's Garden Plot mentality had transformed the farm workers into "subversives." When Coachella Valley Sheriff's deputies beat a union organizer to death for "resisting arrest," Chavez spoke out in a funeral oration: "The hand that struck Brother Nagi down trembles in fear. It too is the victim of the climate of violence, racism and hatred created by those men who own everything and kill what they cannot own. We are faced with discrimination, exploitation and even slaughter. The government represses our people, and millions of farm workers are trapped in poverty while the growers lavish in riches. . . . In the struggle to change these evils, Nagi gave his life."

The AFL-CIO's George Meany was finally forced to denounce the Reagan-Nixon unholy alliance in the fields. Charles Colson, one of the chief Nixon Administration officials indicted and convicted in the infamous Watergate case, was accused by Meany on April 16,

1974, of joining with Fitzsimmons in a "public-relations play to erase from the public memory . . . the evidence that it was Teamster goons who were indicted for beating up aged strikers, including women; that it was Teamsters who conspired with the growers against the farmers."

AFL-CIO sources also accused Colson of being instrumental in undermining the tentative peace agreement reached by the AFL-CIO and the Teamsters in 1973. According to these sources, Colson, acting as an attorney for the Teamsters, advised Fitzsimmons to back off the already-negotiated farm-labor jurisdiction agreement with the AFL-CIO because Meany was at the time pushing the AFL-CIO position calling for the impeachment of President Nixon. Fitzsimmons was Nixon's chief labor support, having backed him strongly for reelection in 1972.

One by one the Reagan Administration fronts targeted against Chavez and his union fell apart: the Mexican-American Democrats for Republic Action, the Agriculture Workers Freedom to Work Association, the Citizens Committee for Farm Labor, the Kern-Tulare Independent Farm Workers Association and the various Teamster provocateurs.

The stage was set for extreme covert action. The sinister questions raised by the plot to murder Cesar Chavez by growers have yet to be put to Ronald Reagan. What follows is a summary of the conspiracy by historian Jacques Levy.

Much of the evidence is on tape and is reported in a secret U.S. Treasury Department report signed on September 23, 1971, by Treasury agent William J. Vizzard, head of the Bakersfield office of the Treasury Department's Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division (ATF).

The plot, as first reported by a police informant named Larry Shears, involved an unknown number of Delano area growers who gave some \$25,000 to a Bakersfield man to assassinate Cesar, and he asked Shears to burn some union records. Since ATF couldn't base its case solely on the word of a police informant, it sent in an undercover ATF agent named Lester Robinson, whose findings are reported in Vizzard's final report.

According to that report, undercover agent Robinson met with Pedigo, one of the largest drug dealers in the Bakersfield area, on Wednesday, August 18, 1971. Coincidentally, that was

two days after the triggerman, Buddy Gene Prochnau, was captured 30 miles from Salinas by the California Highway Patrol. The Robinson-Pedigo meeting was secretly tape-recorded.

Vizzard's report, based on the tape recording, states that Pedigo "discussed the arson of Chavez's records. He said that he had seen the building and that it was wood frame and easily broken into. Pedigo says that the people who want the arson done are farmers in the Delano, Jasmine, McFarland area, and that they have so much money that they are probably not afraid of an inquiry." (They have the Governor's office wired.)

At four the next Friday afternoon a grower's son whom the ATF knew was a link between Pedigo and the growers was seen by Shears bringing a paper bag into Pedigo's home. After the grower's son left, Pedigo told Shears he now had the money for carrying out the plot.

This proves significant because at 7 a.m. the next morning ATF agents raided Pedigo's home and arrested him on charges of selling amphetamines to agent Robinson the night before. In Pedigo's safe, agents found \$6,830. And in the refrigerator they found \$22,000. The \$22,000, however, is not mentioned in Vizzard's final report.

Then ATF let it be known that Robinson was an undercover ATF agent and that Larry Shears was an informant, thus destroying the only undercover links to the plotters, whose identity remains unknown. . . .

After Pedigo's arrest, ATF dropped the assassination-plot investigation on the grounds it no longer had jurisdiction. Nearly four months later, when Larry Shears revealed the details of the plot on a Bakersfield TV station, the coverup started. Both ATF and Kern County Sheriff Charles Dodge claimed the only proof they had of a plot was Shears's word.

The union and the state AFL-CIO, worried about Chavez's safety, asked state Attorney General Evelle Younger to investigate. But after assigning only one agent to the case—Robert Manning—Younger's office issued a press release on March 31 stating that there never was a plot. "Lie-detector tests have cleared two men Shears claimed were at the action end of the conspiracy," the Attorney General's office told the press, and "Shears refused to submit to a polygraph."

But that claim was false, and Shears had the tape recording of his interview with Agent Manning to prove it. On tape, Agent Manning even repeated the informant's position, which was that Shears was willing to submit to a

polygraph provided it was given by "some institution or university where there were competent people to administer it and interpret it, and if the operators were not part of any law-enforcement agency."

When the attorney general's office refused to have an independent expert administer such a test, independent investigator Vincent South, a nationally recognized polygraph expert from the Bay Area, volunteered to test Shears. Over a two-day period South gave extensive tests that covered many aspects of Shears's story, then concluded that Shears was telling the truth on the key parts of his confession.

Meanwhile, at the request of Senator Edward M. Kennedy, the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department conducted its own investigation, mainly going over the material obtained by ATF. Two years later, after finally offering Pedigo immunity if he would name the growers who provided the \$25,000—an offer Pedigo declined—the Justice Department dropped the case.

A letter signed by Robert Mardian, then assistant attorney general for internal security, has also raised questions of possible interference in the investigation from the highest levels of government. Mardian was President Richard Nixon's political hatchet man in the Justice Department and was later convicted for conspiracy to obstruct justice in the coverup of the Watergate scandal. Mardian was also familiar with UFWOC, since his family owned a vineyard in Arizona that, his brother later claimed, was forced into bankruptcy after signing a contract with the union.

The plot was obviously throttled. Pedigo was sentenced to from two years to ten on the drug charge and to another two years to ten when found guilty of arson in another case involving a Delano grower. Triggerman Buddy Gene Prochnau was sentenced to life when found guilty in another Visalia murder for hire.

The Farm Workers accused Reagan and Attorney General Evelle Younger of a coverup of the plan to execute Chavez and burn union records, records that disclose the front activities of Reagan, the Kitchen Cabinet led by Bloomingdale, and growers committed to Reagan and Nixon.

If I read your generation correctly, you've been turned off by hypocrisy and dirty politics; you yearn for leaders who will be above partisanship and personal gain. . . .

—"The Speech" from *Where's the Rest of Me?*,
by Ronald Reagan

* * *

The Reagan-Younger front in Garden Plot was a dummy outfit dubbed the Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence Branch (OCCIB). When *New West* magazine in 1978 ran a startling exposé of Younger, it summarized its findings outspokenly:

On May 2, 1978, in the middle of his campaign for Governor of California, Evelle J. Younger released an Organized Crime Control Commission report, complete with mug shots and detailed descriptions of 92 organized-crime figures. The report, Younger said in a headline-making press conference, was designed to warn Californians of organized crime's new move into the state. In Evelle Younger's own staff office, and in offices of other organized-crime prosecutors in California, they listened to Evelle Younger, and they laughed. They knew that Evelle Younger's organized-crime list was a joke."

OCCIB was a Younger-Reagan front to spy on and harass dissidents, including the Chavez organizers—not to stop organized crime. The aim of OCCIB and the California Narcotics Information Network (CNIN) was to stop organized labor, organized antiwar activity and organized civil-rights actions—not organized crime.

CNIN was a Nixon-Reagan operation set up at the time of Watergate. The program began in 1972 as an extension of the Nixon scheme to use narcotics enforcement as a stalking horse to build a new intelligence empire. The Nixon-Younger-Reagan plan was to replace the anti-communism flag of the 1950s and early '60s with a law-and-order rallying point centered on anti-narcotics propaganda, but actually concerned with coordinating the use of electronic surveillance, informers and undercover agents, and air and marine strike forces: Garden Plot as narcotics control.

Reagan, through Younger, was branching out, co-

vertly, across the nation. Besides OCCIB and CNIN, there was now OCCS (the Organized Crime Collector's School)—a self-styled state "anti-terrorist" operation that covered California and the Western United States and tied into "Red squads" nationwide.

The Reagan-Younger covert spy empire was not limited to the official OCCS, but spilled over into a "private" Southern California consulting firm named Anacapa Sciences Inc. This mystery firm had been hired on to lead a politically motivated paramilitary campaign against "dissidents" by the California Department of Justice.

According to intelligence researchers, Anacapa's "organized crime" rhetoric was a front for what amounted to a national training school to coach local police officers in their war against "radicals." This war included the training of SWAT squads for urban counterinsurgency and the militarization of police forces. OCCS became a technological partner of the Systems Development Corporation, and Anacapa (according to experts) enjoyed close ties to the Central Intelligence Agency. The Anacapa project director was Jack A. Kinney, formerly of Air Force Intelligence and the top-secret National Security Agency, while other executives hailed from the Office of Naval Intelligence and the Defense Intelligence Agency; all of these units have long-time reciprocal relationships with the CIA. All this was the residue of Reagan's Garden Plot period.

Reagan's and Younger's influence reached through OCCS and Anacapa to the Washington, D.C.-based Psychological Assessment Associates. PAA is the deepest of deep-cover CIA "proprietarys" and houses some of the agency's most controversial behavior-modification and drug-related experimental programs. One of Reagan's liaison's to Washington and PAA was John W. Gettenger, a long-time operative working previously under cover of the Human Ecology Fund, which is a known CIA conduit.

It is thus clear how as early as 1967 Reagan made use of extremist contacts inside the National Security Council (NSC). At the Governors Conference in 1967, Reagan was slipped a copy of President Johnson's mes-

sage on Vietnam to the conference. When the leak became known, the FBI confronted Reagan, according to the *Washington Post*.

"It was just a mistake—I hit big casino," quipped the Governor. The FBI reported to LBJ that Reagan had been the recipient of an "inside operation" that violated national security. But Johnson ordered that Reagan not be exposed unless the FBI could name the "mole" inside the NSC or the White House. It said it couldn't. (In 1983 a much-reformed FBI went after Reagan and his NSC spy ring again, this time in earnest—for stealing President Carter's briefing book before his debate with candidate Reagan.)

It may be that Reagan's most extreme secret act while Governor was to bring in his own counterinsurgency expert. Even after Garden Plot and Cable Splicer had been organized, Reagan set up his own separate secret-police apparatus. According to an explosive story in the *London Sunday Observer*, Reagan contracted for Sir Robert Thompson to come to California to prepare a set of plans for the "neutralization, confinement and reeducation" of dissidents, minorities, students, et al.

Sir Robert Thompson is the noted British guerrilla-war expert whose bloody exploits had been as successful in Malaya as the U.S. efforts had not been in Vietnam. Reagan, who believed that "Vietnam should be bombed into a parking lot," plotted with his advisers Meese and Clark in anticipation of a revolution of some kind in the state.

Finally, in the "Peoples Park" affair at Berkeley, Reagan ordered the National Guard to shoot to kill. It did, and one student was dead, others wounded; helicopters sprayed student and peaceful marchers with CS gas for the first time in the domestic history of the nation. The essential nonviolence of the students (who wanted to keep a park from being paved over) prevailed, and the "bloodbath" that Reagan had been planning since 1966 was avoided.

In a sign of things to come, Reagan was sharing Thompson's counterinsurgency services with President Nixon. Thompson was advising the Governor and the President at the same time on how to smash "insurgen-

cy." Reagan knew how to conduct a secret war, had known since Johnny Rosselli and his Teamster thugs had beaten strikers in front of Warner Brothers in the 1940s. We have now discovered that Reagan *knowingly* put illegal elements of Garden Plot into action during his eight years in Sacramento.

William Turner, a former FBI special agent who became one of this country's leading intelligence historians and analysts, specializes in California extremism, Ronald Reagan and federal complicity. His classic *Power on the Right* identified the rightist base that Reagan drew on in the 1950s and early '60s. This long essay, written with Warren Hinckle in 1976, utterly condemns the Reagan regime of the '60s and '70s.

Here is Turner's investigation, in summary, of the ominous adventures of Jerry Ducote, based on sworn testimony, court documents, Freedom of Information materials and Ducote's own confession.

In the fall of 1974, two years after Watergate and two months after Nixon's resignation, a Fresno, California, newspaper reported that a thief had been hired by right-wing political interests in the late '60s to burglarize the offices of the United Farm Workers. The thief stole documents that helped the big California growers put the brake on *bracero* efforts to unionize. The story said that the political burglar had also conducted break-ins at numerous other institutions, including Cesar Chavez's headquarters.

Chavez charged that both then-Governor Ronald Reagan and the FBI were conducting a "massive cover-up" to keep the big names behind the plot from surfacing. Chavez was treated as if he were crying "wolf."

The thief was a man named Jerry Ducote. He was working for Jack Pandol, one of the state's biggest grape growers. Reagan had appointed millionaire Pandol to the state Board of Agriculture. Thus, Ducote was acting as an agent of the state of California and its governor.

For two years Ducote performed political burglaries, at the brazen rate of almost one a month, for wealthy California ranchers and other prominent Republicans. The goods he stole were distributed to leading rightists across the country through a secret network

of right-wing intelligence organizations that maintained millions of files on the Left. In sheer volume, these files rival the FBI's. But they are not rivals. Local and state police and the FBI itself cooperated with the burglar and helped cover his tracks. In return, they shared in the forbidden fruit of his break-ins.

Turner relates Ducote's dramatic recital of his first illegal operation against Chavez. According to Ducote, Pandol, a state official, handed him a thick envelope. "It contained \$1,400 in used \$100 bills and a key. The key in the envelope fit the rear door of the Philippine Social Hall in Delano. The Social Hall had become a hiring hall for Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers Union. It was also the secret command post where Chavez was organizing his biggest weapon against the California growers—the National Grape Boycott."

At 2 a.m. Ducote inserted the key and walked effortlessly into the old wooden building. Fifteen minutes later he walked out with the keys to Cesar Chavez's kingdom. In four boxes no bigger than orange crates he carried away the fruits of years of political struggle—the names and addresses of dues-paying UFW members and the mailing lists of Chavez's financial contributors throughout the country.

The names would find their way into the FBI's and CIA's computerized domestic files of leftists, and feed COINTELPRO-type operations to harass the farm workers' white liberal friends. Even more valuable than the names were the strategy files containing the plans and national contacts for the Great Grape Boycott. Chavez was later to say that the burglary seriously set back the boycott.

The farm workers traced Ducote's license number and alerted authorities of the break-in. Turner tells us how Ducote was rescued by his employers. The burglar boarded the sleek private plane of the D'Arrigo Bros. Co. of Salinas. The flight had been arranged by the vice-president of the produce firm, Stephen D'Arrigo Jr., known less formally as the Lettuce King of California. A right-wing Republican contributor to Ronald Reagan's campaigns, D'Arrigo was another rich rancher who made it his business to spy on the farm workers.

D'Arrigo was a friend of Jack Pandol and, in the political second-story work of Jerry Ducote, a co-conspirator.

Ducote was flown out of harm's way. Both California authorities and the FBI cooperated to protect him. More, they ran this extremist as their agent. Turner reports that according to the burglar's sworn confession, FBI agents provided him with floor plans of dissident targets before each break-in; the bureau even recommended expert burglars to assist Ducote in jobs outside California.

Ducote's stolen names and documents reached not only the FBI and CIA but also the House un-American Activities Committee (which cataloged them) and the paramilitary Minutemen (which sent death threats marked with rifle cross-hairs to every person on the mailing list of one Palo Alto peace group). Ducote's break-ins resulted in a sort of private COINTEL-PRO—blackening of reputations, disruption of personal lives, organizational chaos and paranoia.

A partial list of the burglar's co-conspirators in the dissemination of political stolen goods: current and retired FBI men, agents of Air Force Intelligence and of the CIA, two former United States congressmen, several present and former members of the California legislature, officials of both federal and state un-American Activities Committees, executives of the wealthy American Security Council, the wealthiest farmers in the world and a number of stalwarts of the Far Right, including supporters of, advisers to and officials appointed by Ronald Reagan.

Ducote was reporting during this period to Reagan's Kitchen Cabinet, including Patrick Frawley and Alfred Bloomingdale. Reagan's Lieutenant Governor, Ed Reinake, was personally paying Ducote for illegal out-of-state break-ins.

Ducote was, nominally, a freelance agent for two groups, Western Research and Research West; there were also ties to William Buckley. These private "research" operations were financed, again, by Frawley and a list of important Reagan backers. In the end, William Turner writes, Ducote's sponsors sent their spy to the "American Security Council, the Tiffany's of the black-

listers . . . to the biggest 'Old Boy' operation of them all, the American Security Council, which boasts some million names on index cards of leftists, 'Comsymps,' 'labor agitators' and radicals; the stash is valued conservatively at \$1.7 million.

"The ASC operates what it describes as a 'subversive-information service' for its 3,200 member companies, among them the nation's ranking defense contractors. Operating in Washington, D.C., as the little angel of the military-industrial complex, it fronted the propaganda battle to pass the antiballistic-missile system. The ASC also conducts a Cold War College offering psycho-political courses on a country squire's estate in Virginia. . . ."

In Southern California, Reagan supporters in the Los Angeles Fire and Police Research Association (FI-PO) ran Ducote. Turner concludes his sad study of official violence with the information that "FI-PO [a firemen/policemen's organization] disbanded in 1975, but the Glendale-based United Community Churches of America shoveled the FI-PO dirt into its own ample collection of subversive vital statistics. The guiding light of the United Community Church is the Reverend W. Stuart McBirnie, the man credited with inventing Ronald Reagan's campaign slogan 'The Creative Society.' "

The "Creative Society" had come to California. And since that Hollywood-premiere of an inauguration the fabric of California government had endured major damage, first as Reagan feverishly sought to effectuate a series of "simple answers," and later as he began to depend upon the more traditional powers available to a California governor.

Like a mirage, the simple answers that are the staple of right-wing dogmatists had eluded Reagan. The crime rate in California continued to rise, the welfare caseload doubled, and welfare costs tripled. State taxes and spending were up by 100%. If Reagan didn't already know it in 1966 and 1967 when he was a fledgling politician, he surely learned early in his administration that what he promised was not only impossible, it was a fraud.

By any objective standard, and measured by his own

promises, the Governor had been an across-the-board failure. Yet, curiously, Ronald Reagan did not leave office stigmatized by defeat. On the contrary, he managed to survive by relying increasingly on media politics and public relations. But "The Creative Society" was in fact eight years of hate and fear, propaganda and covert operations.

At the end, as we will learn, Reagan was sharing Watergate operatives, as well as counterinsurgency advisers, with Richard Nixon. Perhaps the most revealing Reagan/Nixon connection was their joint employment of arch-conservative economist Milton Friedman. Nixon called on Friedman to "discipline" Chile's economy under the Pinochet junta. Reagan contracted with Friedman to "discipline" the economy of California.

* * *

It was good to be at the ranch on a hot July day. Over breakfast Nancy read Ronnie a *Los Angeles Times* story out of Sacramento.

Watergate Exaggerated, Reagan Says

BY ROBERT FAIRBANKS
Times Staff Writer

SACRAMENTO—An irritated Gov. Reagan Tuesday accused some reporters and U.S. Senate investigators of blowing the Watergate case out of proportion and blamed them for an apparently widespread belief that President Nixon had advance knowledge of the conspiracy.

Reagan, who was President Nixon's California campaign chairman last year, criticized reporters and investigators when asked about a recent Gallup Poll showing that more people think the President had advance knowledge than think not—41 to 32%.

"That is a tribute and a testimonial to the ability of those who have been doing their best to blow this and carry it as far along as to the next election as they can," Reagan said.

Asked whom he meant, Reagan replied:

"This will involve elements of the communications media. This will involve representatives of the Senate Investigating Committee. They have got hold of a good thing from their standpoint," he said. . . .

And so they came to Washington, those who had achieved what Ronnie and Nancy considered the American dream, to take part in the \$16-million inauguration, by far the most expensive in history. At \$750 a head, they came from Ohio in John Jacob Astor's private train with liveried porters at beck and call. They came from Indiana in a railroad car once owned by J. P. Morgan. They came from Texas with Governor William P. Clements Jr., 380 strong in a chartered Boeing 747. They came by limousine from Scranton, New York and Chicago. They came as often as not by first-class plane on an estimated 400 corporate jets, row upon row of sleek planes lined up at National Airport. If they didn't have their own cars waiting for them, they rented limousines. And if they didn't want to shell out for a limousine, they rented big American cars—Grand Prix, Cutlasses, LTDs with landau roofs. . . .

Beyond the scheduled inaugural activities, there were over a hundred weekend parties for the anointed. There were parties within parties, before-the-party parties, after-the-party parties, state parties, cocktail parties, receptions. The only thing to do after the brunches and lunches was to head out in the late afternoon already formally dressed. At a party given by NBC, Senator Barry Goldwater, who had sired the movement that brought Ronnie to the White House, looked out on a sea of designer dresses and jewels. "Ostentatious," he said of the festivities. "I've seen seven of them. And I say when you've got to pay \$2,000 for a limousine for four days, \$7 to park and \$2.50 to check your coat, at a time when most people in this country can't hack it, that's ostentatious."

—*Make Believe*, Laurence Leamer

Former California Governor Goodwin Knight had said, years before, that "there is no such person as Ronnie Reagan." Well, he had been wrong. At this, the most expensive Presidential inaugural in American history, Ronnie and Nancy "existed" as never before.

ACT III

THE PRESIDENT

I'd better confess that while I abhor war, yet there are worse things. Ah, my friends, far worse! A state of so-called peace, in which labor organizations are riddled, as by plague germs, with insane notions out of anarchistic Red Russia! A state in which college professors, newspapermen and notorious authors are secretly promulgating these same seditious attacks on the grand old Constitution! A state in which, as a result of being fed these mental drugs, the People are flabby, cowardly, grasping and lacking in the fierce pride of the warrior! No, such a state is far worse than war at its most monstrous.

—“The Speech ” from *It Can't Happen Here*,
by Sinclair Lewis

Now, before someone says, “Ah, ha! He does want war,” let me say, “No, I want and believe in peace—but we can't have it by telling the enemy we'll buy it at any price.”

We have prominent American newspaper commentators like John Crosby declaring that “to go to war under any circumstances for anything at all in the world in our time is utter absurdity.” To this, such prominent English commentators as Kenneth Tynan add that “better Red than dead seems an obvious doctrine for anyone not consumed by a death wish; I would rather live on my knees than die on my feet.”

The trouble with such men is that they have never lived either on their feet or their knees. They have lived on their fat

fannies. They talk, with the fear of a child going into the dark, about dying, a death wish in reverse.

—"The Speech" from *Where's the Rest of Me?*,
by Ronald Reagan

* * *

Then it was over. A few dozen were finishing nightcaps. At last and best of all, Ronnie insisted on saying a few words to the hangers-on. How warm and familiar, to hear the good old words; Nancy listened, splitting her face in a grin, listened with wifely joy just as she had for over 30 years now.

Today there is an increasing number who can't see a fat man standing beside a thin one without automatically coming to the conclusion the fat man got that way by taking advantage of the thin one. So they would seek the answer to all the problems of human need through government. Howard K. Smith of television fame has written: "The profit motive is outmoded. It must be replaced by the incentives of the welfare state." He says, "The distribution of goods must be effected by a planned economy." Another articulate spokesman for the welfare state defines liberalism as meeting the material needs of the masses through the full power of centralized government. I for one find it disturbing when a representative refers to the free men and women of this country as the masses. . . .

* * *

Howard K. Smith never made the first statement, and researchers have never been able to find the second.

"The Speech" was the rhetorical cover for what, in the 1960s, was considered "neo-fascism"—by moderate Republicans such as Senator Thomas Kuchel of California—but by 1980 was considered the mainstream patriotism/conservatism of the "new" Reagan.

By what process did an extremist of the entire Cold War period become the born-again "Great Communicator" of the 1980s? The answer is "disinformation"—a technical term referring to a campaign of covert propaganda based on the principles of psychological warfare, as developed by our secret-police establishment—what historian David Wise has called "the invisible government."

The secret scenario that helped set the stage for the new Reagan begins in the early 1970s in Chile, when the democratically elected government of President Salvador Allende was overthrown in a coup sponsored by Chilean fascists and the American Central Intelligence Agency. There was jubilation in the clandestine recesses of the CIA and the Pentagon: Instead of a losing military adventure as in Vietnam, the "invisible government" had perfected a cheap, deadly strategy for victory through psychological warfare. In a closed-door Congressional hearing, CIA Director William Colby referred to Chile as a "laboratory model."

Thus ended stage one. Stage two began in London. Media and "psy-war" specialists set up a series of fronts in England and began to warn stridently about "the coming Sovietization of Great Britain," just as they had trumpeted the "Castroization of Chile" across Latin America. Psy-war experts began to write such "Sovietization" speeches for a little-known member of Parliament, Margaret Thatcher. One of the speech writers was exposed in a heated House of Commons debate as an important agent in the Chilean bloodbath. The psy-war agent's name was Robert Moss, later to become the best-selling novelist of *The Spike* and a close Reagan adviser.

According to Dr. Fred Landis, a Chilean-American expert in psy-war manipulation, writing in *Inquiry* magazine: "Moss was a leading light in the Institute for the Study of Conflict (ISC). The ISC served as a forum for bringing together journalists and military-intelligence officers." ISC-sponsored propaganda, including claims that the Soviet Union planned to "communize Britain," provided the catalyst for the formation of the neo-fascist National Association for Freedom (NAFF).

Moss founded and directed NAFF, according to the *London Guardian*, under the banner of halting the "Sovietization of Britain through the Labour government and the influence of the trade unions." Several leaders of the NAFF became members of the conservative shadow cabinet that is today the Thatcher government.

NAFF was a propaganda front. Under Moss's sophisticated guidance a plan was set in motion to invigorate the British Right, which had been in the doldrums

since the Conservative Party's loss to Labour in 1974.

NAFF created an artificial crisis in Britain by polarizing business-labor relations to the breaking point. It did so by stepping into industrial disputes and, with offers of financial support, encouraging management to take an intransigent position. NAFF-connected newspapers then covered the strikes in a sensationalist manner, much as the CIA-controlled media had done in Chile.

Again like its Chilean counterpart, NAFF mobilized support by turning social conflicts into "national security" issues by portraying the labor unions as Communist tools. The ISC issued reports on alleged Soviet attempts to infiltrate the unions and paralyze Britain.

Robert Moss then announced the discovery of an alleged "manifesto group" in the Labour Party that consisted of ten to 20 secret Marxists. This propaganda campaign spread to the United States with a cover story in the February 1977 *Commentary* titled "Anglo-communism." Moss had pursued the same theme in his pessimistic book *The Collapse of Democracy*. A full-page ad for the book in William Buckley's *National Review* announced: "He puts the date for the totalitarian transformation of England as 1985." But instead of totalitarian Marxism, "Britain got Maggie Thatcher," Dr. Landis concludes his gloomy exposé.

Meanwhile, a similar campaign was getting under way in the United States. Former military officers, intelligence veterans and defense intellectuals joined forces and, from 1975 to 1980, continued to lobby ceaselessly to make America's overt and covert intervention overseas respectable once again. Their campaign was coordinated through several think tanks and propaganda outlets that sprang into prominence in the late 1970s, including: the Washington Institute of Strategic Studies, the Heritage Foundation and, above all, the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies, an intelligence-connected, hawkish shadow cabinet whose members directed Ronald Reagan's foreign-policy transition team.

In 1975 London's Institute for the Study of Conflict set up the U.S. Institute for the Study of Conflict. Its board included Zbigniew Brzezinski, former Vietnam-

pacification chief Robert Komar and Kermit Roosevelt, who masterminded the CIA's pro-Shah coup in Iran in 1953. Its first president was James Theberge, head of Latin American studies at the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies and now an adviser to Ronald Reagan.

In its 1975 statement of purpose, Theberge's institute warned that the United States was ill-prepared to cope with subversive infiltration of the media: "The United States itself, the preeminent power in the free world, is experiencing its own problems with subversion," it observed. "The U.S. Institute for the Study of Conflict has thus been established to address this complex problem which has not been fully recognized in this country. . . . It will attempt to bridge the gap between the limited coverage in the press and the specialist publications of policy research institutions."

The other policy centers in this cluster around Georgetown and the Heritage Foundation pursue a similar course. The Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies sponsors *Washington Quarterly*, edited by Michael Ledeen; the Heritage Foundation publishes *Policy Review*—with the editorial assistance of Robert Moss. Over the years these publications and "journalists" have put forth the key elements of disinformation: themes such as Soviet control of the U.S. media, the presence of Soviet "moles" in sensitive government posts and Soviet control of world terrorism.

The propaganda vehicle, of course, was "The Speech." From about 1973 on—when it became clear that Nixon was finished—Reagan moved relentlessly toward his goal. We shall shortly take a look at his covert actions, but "The Speech" is what the public heard; it was their reality. And yet, like all dissimulations or lies, it reveals even as it hides:

- The men arrested for the Watergate break-in in 1973 should not be regarded as criminals because "they are not criminals at heart." Also: "Espionage is not considered dishonorable in political campaigns."
- I don't think anyone would cheerfully want to "use atomic weapons (in Vietnam) . . . but the enemy . . .

- should go to bed every night being afraid that we might.
- I've already spoken about the anti-nuclear-power people and the fact that they're being manipulated by forces sympathetic to the Soviet Union.
 - I think we were right to be involved in Vietnam. . . . The plain truth of the matter is that we were there to counter the master plan of the Communists for world conquest, and it's a lot easier and safer to counter it 8,000 miles away than to wait until they land in Long Beach. . . .
 - I have talked many times about using American forces in demonstrations of U.S. interests in far-flung places. Specifically, a need for American forces in Portugal, Rhodesia, Panama and Angola, and for a blockade of Cuba to counter the invasion of Afghanistan, among others.
 - All over the country there are job skills in short supply. How can we say that 500 welders are unemployed in Los Angeles if there are openings for 500 welders in Dallas? There should be a place in every city where a person can go to find out where in the United States his skills are needed.
 - There are also a lot of jobs available that some people now call "menial." Maybe we need to get back the Depression mentality, where there were no menial jobs. job was a job, and anyone who got one felt lucky. . . .

Besides the formal speech, there would be the "slips"—slips of the tongue that expose the resentment and hostility crouching under the platitudes. Reagan's slips continued to be misquoted statistics, quotations out of context, repetitive use of code words like *asinine* and always the outright lies that had to be explained away later by "spokesmen."

It isn't necessary to be a linguist to fathom Reagan's technique. Hear how he persists in using shopworn phrases—"Republic of China" in advocating "official" nongovernmental relations with Taiwan; "a noble cause" in describing the Vietnam War; and occasionally "military superiority" instead of "margin of safety" for

the United States over the Soviet Union.

One of Reagan's first slips was his reference to the Vietnam War as a "noble cause [in which] a small country newly free from colonial rule sought out help in establishing self-rule and the means of self-defense against a totalitarian neighbor bent on conquest." This appeared in the prepared text of a major address and was inserted there by Reagan himself, over the objections of his staff, according to aides who requested anonymity.

But why should they have objected? Even at the height of the Vietnam War it was only a determined minority—never a majority of Americans—who became disenchanted with the Cold War rationale for U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Rewriting history to make the antiwar sentiment seem dominant is to diminish the sacrifice and frustration of those who opposed the war. Far more typical then—and clearly, in Reagan's opinion now—was the attitude summed up in the usual climax to his Vietnam pitch: "Let us tell those who fought in that war that we will never again ask young men to fight and possibly die in a war our government is afraid to let them win."

Days before the election the *New York Times*, for one, caught the candidate out in a series of blatant lies used in his television commercials. One example gives the familiar flavor:

The announcer on the television advertisement said too that Mr. Reagan's "environmental-protection program was the nation's toughest." Carl Pope, director of political education for the Sierra Club, strenuously disagreed. Mr. Pope said Mr. Reagan consistently opposed formation of the Redwoods National Park, that he opposed expansion of state parks, that he kept a \$250-million parks bond issue off the ballot, that he fired two members of the State Natural Resources Board for being too tough on industry, that he refused to apply for federal mass-transit money, that he opposed giving the state authority over pollution caused by stationary power plants, and that he hamstrung operations of a state industrial-safety program on toxic fumes by insisting that state highway employees make the inspections even though they had no background or training for the task.

Nothing stopped Reagan's campaign of half-truths, lies and "black" propaganda, because he was speaking

over the heads of the media—but through the media—to the American mass psyche. Half adversary and half conduit, the media was paralyzed by ambivalence. This ambivalence was all that Reagan needed or wanted. The real action would take place offstage.

After Watergate, Reagan began hiring spies and operatives. An exaggeration? Consider that the men who hired Nazis in California in 1972 to register Democrats for George Wallace were Reagan staffers like Lyn Nofziger. Nofziger, after '72, brought Ken Rietz to Reagan's attention and employment. During the 1972 campaign Rietz ran a junior Watergate operation. He formed a network of young spies and dirty tricksters who came to be called the "Kiddie Corps." This and more appeared in the Watergate prosecutors' files.

One of Rietz's undercover operatives, a George Washington University student, was paid \$150 a week to infiltrate a peace vigil at the White House and set up the demonstrators for arrest on drug charges.

Rietz also directed the colorful John "Fat Jack" Buckley, who planted a spy in the headquarters of Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine. For \$1,000 a month this spy slipped folders full of intra-office memos to Buckley, who photographed them and delivered the film strips to Rietz.

Nixon's righthand man, H. R. Haldeman, was so pleased with the results that he began grooming Rietz to be the next Republican national chairman. Rietz actually was preparing to take charge of the 1974 Republican Congressional campaign when his spy activities hit the headlines. He resigned under fire.

Now Reagan brought him back into politics. At age 34, Rietz was a shrewd political operator who handled special events for the Reagan campaign and was also Reagan's chief organizer in California. In fact, Rietz's home was the temporary Reagan headquarters in the state.

As evidence of his gift for picking expert advisers, Reagan chose Richard Allen, an erstwhile publicist for former Portuguese colonial interests—a registered foreign agent—as his chief foreign-policy aide.

Two others on the Reagan foreign-policy team are current

or former registered agents representing Israel. Two more Reagan campaign aides have been identified as agents for the Taiwanese government.

The other former or current foreign agents in the Reagan camp are Uri Ra'anani, who represented Israel in the United States from 1959 to 1964; Rita Hauser, a New York attorney who is still a registered agent for Bank Hapoalim of Israel; and Michael Deaver and Peter Hannaford, who are registered agents for the government of Taiwan.

There were other and more ominous connections with programs essentially violent in nature. Reagan seemed to have a fatal attraction for the most reckless projects. In 1976, to take an extraordinary example, the *London Sunday Times* told the story of an "Assassination School" run by the U.S. Navy in San Diego, in which Reagan had taken a special interest, just as he had in the behavior-modification experiments of the 1950s. The Assassination School had been a corner in the Garden Plot canvas.

Washington attorney Eugene Rossides, who heads the Reagan campaign's nationalities division, is charged with rallying ethnic Americans to the Republican banner. Yet he is regarded with suspicion by many members of his own ethnic community, the Greek-Americans, because of his support of the right-wing military junta that ground down the people of Greece from 1967 to 1974.

In 1980 Reagan's old adversary Jack Anderson struck again with the revelation that "the confidential files of the late Howard Hughes allege that Ronald Reagan's campaign chairman, Senator Paul Laxalt, R-Nev., once secretly killed a civil-rights bill at the request of the erratic billionaire."

The Hughes documents stated that Laxalt, while he was governor of Nevada, lobbied behind the scenes to quash an open-housing bill that Laxalt pretended to be supporting. The documents also claim that Laxalt killed the legislation after Hughes promised him "unlimited financial support." And Anderson proceeded to publish letters that confirmed the ugly story.

"To make the Laxalt deal work," Hughes wrote in a memo to his Nevada chief of staff, Robert Maheu, "we have to find a means of motivation."

"Now, Bob, I think Laxalt can be brought to a point where he will just about entrust his entire political future to his relationship with us. . . . I think we must convince him beyond a shadow of a doubt that I intend to back him with unlimited support right into the White House in 1972."

Maheu gave his boss regular reports on the job negotiations with Laxalt. In December 1969 he wrote in a memo to Hughes: "Governor Laxalt has started to ask me precisely what his assignment will be in your organization."

Reagan also hired William Timmon, a Watergate insider, and Fred Fielding, Nixon's legal liaison to some of the Watergate burglars. And then there were William Casey, Richard Allen, Ray Cline, Daniel Graham and Vernon Walters: the spymasters and their minions (4,000 strong from the Association of Former Intelligence Officers—the leadership of which had been purged or who had to quit after the Church Senate Committee revelations of CIA and FBI criminal activity).

Reagan's propaganda and covert action plans were in place long before the primaries of 1980 came into sight. Reagan knew how to prepare in secret and appear in public with the engaging smile and the slip of the tongue to provide a clue to the hidden resentment. This is the "passive-aggressive killer personality" in the political arena (the term comes from the San Diego Navy experiments in assassination that had so interested Governor Reagan).

* * *

Nancy picked at her sponge cake and listened along with the other Rotarians assembled in convention. "The Speech" sounded better than ever to her. Ronnie may have lost out to Gerald Ford in 1976, but now they had four full years to get their message out to the country. Nancy felt certain that with the support of Alfred Bloomingdale and the old Kitchen Cabinet, and the new contributions from multimillionaires like Richard Mellon Scaife and Joseph Coors and their foundations, along with all those good patriotic church people, "Ronnie, how can we fail?"

A burst of applause brought her back to the banquet room and the familiar words.

"Those who deplore use of the terms 'pink' and 'leftist' are themselves guilty of branding all who oppose their liberalism as right-wing extremists. How long can we afford the luxury of this family fight when we are at war with the most dangerous enemy ever known to man? If we lose that war, and in so doing lose our freedom, it has been said history will record with the greatest astonishment that those who had the most to lose did the least to prevent its happening. The guns are silent in this war, but frontiers fall while those who should be warriors prefer neutrality. . . ."

* * *

The right-wing plan to take over the White House for Ronald Reagan in 1980 operated along two tracks. Track I was the preparation of public opinion through psychological warfare. Track II was the coalition of a "Silent Majority," controlled by what would come to be called the "Moral Majority," and crime-penetrated unions, together with a plan for covert actions.

To consider Track I, there is no better source than Dr. Landis, writing in the *Covert Action Information Bulletin*:

The formula developed for overthrowing governments and replacing them with conservative, intelligence-connected think tanks has certain specific elements: the think tanks themselves, militant national businessmen's organizations, and coordination among military intelligence. The catalyst is disinformation. The Chile military solution model assembled these ingredients, used disinformation to create a crisis and offered the think-tank personnel to the military as a solution to the crisis.

In Britain the electoral solution model was used. From 1976 on, a similar plan was in the works for the United States, keyed to the 1980 elections. The think-tank personalities were deeply involved in the Reagan campaign, offering their ideas, made plausible by their own disinformation, as the solution to the foreign-policy crises. The catalyst, again, is disinformation.

In 1977 Robert Moss and friends set up a would-be British intelligence station for Capitol Hill—the Heritage Foundation. . . .

Moss asks: What is the alternative to the Sovietization of Britain? In his book *The Collapse of Democracy* he argues that liberal democracy is a luxury of the

past, that the only viable alternatives are authoritarian regimes, such as Chile, or Marxist totalitarian regimes, such as the Soviet Union. This is what the men who advise Reagan believe; not all, but enough to have caused the present crisis.

The plumbing began to be put in place in 1975, with a \$1-million grant from the National Strategy Information Center "to set up" the Committee for the Present Danger. The National Strategy Information Center was the conduit used by the CIA to pay for books commissioned by Forum World Features, including Moss's book, *Chile's Marxist Experiment*. Most of Reagan's foreign-policy advisers are members of this Committee for the Present Danger. The chief of this group was Richard Allen, about whom more later.

A journal called *Policy Review* is the organ of the psy-war forces that were pointing for 1980. In 1978 the magazine editorialized that the American media is second only to the executive branch of the government in its power, that it is the opposition. This unrestrained power of the press is the greatest "threat to democracy," according to the editor.

The enemy is identified as the "advocacy journalism" of the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, CBS, etc. It is these malign forces that brought about the U.S. loss in Vietnam, the Watergate scandal, the "emasculatation" of the covert-action capabilities of the "Intelligence Establishment." Two deductions follow from this argument: (1) the media must be "controlled," and (2) the "private sector" must take the lead in repairing the damage done to "our national security."

In simple language, as we shall see, this means that—once again, as in the 1950s, but on a much deeper and broader scale—a network of covert action and propaganda fronts must be spread across the nation.

This psy-war structure would grind out the three basic themes: (1) that there was a "mole" high in the Carter Administration (an Ellsberg figure; it may have been Andrew Young, or Antony Lake in the National Security Council, or even William Colby, the former director of the CIA); (2) that the U.S. must take its counterterror precautions at once even if these precautions

are in some ways anti-democratic (Billy Carter was a Libyan agent; thus the Reagan team must counter with its own mole inside the Carter White House); (3) the word *disinformation* must be drummed into the American psyche so that the media can be blamed and discredited when future covert actions are exposed in Central America, Africa, etc.

* * *

These United States, alone among the great powers, have no desire for foreign conquest. Our highest ambition is to be darned well let alone! Our only genuine relationship to Europe is in our arduous tasks of having to try and educate the gross and ignorant masses that Europe has wished onto us up to something like a semblance of American culture and good manners. But . . . we must be prepared to defend our shores against all the alien gangs of international racketeers that call themselves "governments," and that with such feverish envy are always eyeing our inexhaustible mines, our towering forests, our titanic and luxurious cities, our fair and far-flung fields. . . .

For the first time in all history, a great nation must go on arming itself more and more, not for conquest—not for jealousy—not for war—but for peace! Pray God, it may never be necessary, but if foreign nations don't sharply heed our warning, there will, as when the proverbial dragon's teeth were sowed, spring up an armed and fearless warrior upon every square foot of these United States, so arduously cultivated and defended by our pioneer fathers, whose sword-girded images we must be . . . or we shall perish!

—"The Speech" from *It Can't Happen Here*,
by Sinclair Lewis

We are faced with the most evil enemy mankind has known in his long climb from the swamp to the stars. There can be no security anywhere in the free world if there is not fiscal and economic stability within the United States. Those who ask us to trade our freedom for the soup kitchen of the welfare state are architects of a policy of accommodation. They tell us that by avoiding a direct confrontation with the enemy he will learn to love us and give up his evil ways. All who oppose this idea are blanketly indicted as warmongers. Well, let us set one thing straight: There is no argument with regard to peace and war. It is cheap demagoguery to suggest that anyone would want to send other people's sons to war. The only argument is with regard to the best way to avoid war. There is only one sure way—surrender.

—"The Speech" from *Where's the Rest of Me?*,
by Ronald Reagan

* * *

The manufacture of what came to be known as the "Moral Majority" began as a reaction to Watergate. The large traditional evangelical movement in the United States had never before been captive of the Right. But after the great scandals of the early 1970s, operatives from the right wing of the Nixon Administration and backers of Ronald Reagan began a series of fateful meetings with leading "end of the world" TV ministers.

The Heritage Foundation was the setting for these meetings, which were designed to politicize the evangelical churches of the country. The money to implement this scheme, to be called not the "silent" but the "Moral Majority," came from the American Security Council, the John Birch Society's Western Goals Foundation and Reagan's extended Kitchen Cabinet. A key element in the plan was support of Israel as the vanguard of anti-communism and counterrevolution in the Middle East. So-called neo-conservative leaders of the Jewish community were included in the strategy sessions taking place at the Heritage headquarters in Washington, D.C., according to the *New York Times*.

Before pursuing the power of the New Right Network, centered at the Heritage Foundation, it is necessary to understand the year 1976 in political terms. The Right had been humiliated and undermined by a series of scandals of which Watergate was only one. Almost all of the Old Boys from covert action had been fired, retired early or purged from the American intelligence establishment. (These "black" hordes would now migrate to various "associations" and "councils" formed for former military and intelligence officers; they would not go away.)

In 1976 the Right had regrouped and counter-attacked with Reagan as its spearhead. The Panama Canal Zone Treaty was the Right's most provocative issue in early '76. A *Los Angeles Times* story may suggest a different context for Mr. Reagan's efforts on behalf of certain forces at that time.

Reagan Denies Deal to Depose Panama Regime

BY RICHARD BERGHOLZ
Times Political Writer

PENSACOLA, Fla.—Former California Gov. Ronald Reagan denied here Sunday that he had made a secret deal to aid in the overthrow of the current regime in the Republic of Panama.

Reagan confirmed that he had met privately last Nov. 3 with Dr. Arnulfo Arias, deposed president of Panama, but he added: "I didn't promise a thing."

The vice-president of Panama, Gerardo Gonzalez, charged last week that Arias had met with Reagan to seek U.S. support for an effort to bring down the military regime of Brig. Gen. Omar Torrijos Herrera.

Reagan contends the United States bought and paid for the canal zone and owns it in perpetuity and that the government should not be engaged in discussions with the Torrijos administration, which he considers to be dictatorial.

The Torrijos administration charged last week that Arias had told Reagan that if Reagan became president and supported U.S. efforts to overthrow the Torrijos regime, a successor regime would look favorably on a continued U.S. presence in the canal zone.

Reagan insisted that the Boca Raton meeting had been "purely a social occasion."

Reagan was conspiring with extremist elements in the U.S. as well as in Latin America, in anticipation of winning the Presidency. At the same time, after 1975, Reagan met with agents of certain client states operating secretly in the U.S.—the Philippines, Argentina, Chile and Guatemala, among others.

* * *

The murder of the Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier during the 1976 campaign shocked journalists into a closer look at the "new," "clean" American Secret Service. Soon researchers learned that the secret police of five countries—South Korea, Iran, the Philippines, Taiwan and Chile—had conducted systematic campaigns on United States soil to silence dissidents speaking out

against the repressive regimes of those countries. According to official leaks from a classified Senate report, spies from Iran and Chile had been sent to the United States to murder critics. And according to Senate sources, "the State Department actively discouraged FBI investigations of probable crimes in the United States by friendly intelligence services." To say nothing of then-CIA Director George Bush.

In August 1979 the FBI expressed dismay that this information had been leaked. Especially painful to the bureau was this quote from a classified Senate report:

"The CIA passed on to SAVAK, the Iranian Intelligence Agency, information it had received from the FBI on a prominent critic of the Shah who lived in the United States. The critic, Nasser Afshar, was later targeted for assassination. The CIA, according to the report, also provided information to the intelligence services of Chile and the Philippines on U.S. residents about whom the governments of Augusto Pinochet and Ferdinand Marcos wanted information."

And the report charged that Henry Kissinger made "false and misleading public statements" concerning the extent of such foreign-intelligence activities in the United States.

During the '76 campaign Reagan met, away from the press, with lobbyists for several police states, including Marcos's ruthless regime. Reagan took money in both 1976 and 1980 from Philippine-American business interests close to the tyrant. Reagan, and later Bush, would say that they "loved your democracy" to the great anti-Communist butcher of the islands.

By 1976 James Watt was leading the "Sage Brush Rebellion" to roll back environmental safeguards. Joseph Coors, the beer baron, was financing Watt and a host of other right-wing lobbies, law centers and publications. Coors is also credited with funding the Heritage Foundation, or was until the *Washington Post* discovered Richard Mellon Scaife. In the *Post*, Karen Rothmyer describes Scaife as a great grandson of the founder of the Mellon Empire, who has made the formation of public opinion both his business and his avocation. Over the past 12 years Scaife, whose personal fortune is conserva-

tively estimated at \$150 million, has bought or started a variety of publications. Increasingly he turned his attention from journalism to other, "more ambitious efforts to shape public opinion, in the form of \$100 million or so in grants from Scaife Charities to conservative, particularly New Right, causes. These efforts have been dramatically successful. Indeed, Scaife could claim to have done more than any other individual in the past five or six years to influence the way in which Americans think about their country and the world."

Scaife laid out \$900,000 to start up the Heritage operation and a dozen other right-wing storm centers, but his investment in Reagan goes back to California and the early 1970s. With certain South African interests, Scaife invested heavily in such Reagan strongholds as the Hoover Institute, the Foundation for Research in Economics and Education, the Stanford Research Institute, the International Institute for Economic Research, World Research, Institute for Contemporary Studies, California Pacific Legal Foundation, the *Sacramento Union* and two weekly newspapers. This list, which is exclusively related to Scaife's California propaganda holdings, can be found squarely behind Ronald Reagan from 1970 on. It is fair to say that the Scaife machine replaced the old Frawley bandwagon of the 1950s as Ronald Reagan's ideological circus. It's a machine as sophisticated and new as the "New" Right itself.

The *Post* points out that:

Scaife's one foray into international publishing represents perhaps the most curious of his publishing enterprises. In 1973 he became the owner of Kern House Enterprises, a U.S.-registered company. Kern House ran Forum World Features, a London-based news agency that supplied feature material to a large number of papers around the world, including at one time about 30 in the United States. Scaife abruptly closed down Forum in 1975, shortly before *Time Out*, a British weekly, published a purported 1968 CIA memorandum addressed to then-Director Richard Helms, which described Forum as a CIA-sponsored operation providing "a significant means to counter Communist propaganda." The Forum-CIA tie, which lasted into the '70s, has been confirmed by various British and American publications over the years.

By 1976 Scaife was Reagan's angel, and Reagan began to move slightly beyond the grasp of his Kitchen Cabinet. He was growing out and away, looking east—one foot in the California Old Right, one in the New. A former Reagan aide sums up the transition: "Bill Clark and the Governor told the Birch Society and some of those turkeys that it was time for them to grow up if they ever wanted to come to power."

The Birch Society took both Reagan's advice—and Scaife's money—through a front called Western Goals. Western Goals and the Heritage Foundation were to be the heart and mind of Ronald Reagan from 1976 on.

While the machine to elect Reagan in 1980 was being put together quietly in Washington, a public propaganda environment was being unveiled: The Judeo-Christian ideology against the Atheistic Marxist or humanist ideology; good against evil; them against us; America against Russia. This is the logic for the "final days." The millenarian war, Scripture teaches, will break out in Israel. Israel will be the shock troops of Armageddon.

After 1976, as psychological-warfare experts from England and former CIA officers joined the Heritage Foundation strategy sessions, the volume of planned hysteria rose. There was the emergence of an entire new publishing industry featuring titles like *The Beginning of the End* ("Invasion of Afghanistan. Upheaval in Iran. Annexation of Jerusalem. Shortage of Oil in Russia. The result? An invasion of Israel by Russia . . . an invasion which will trigger the end of the world.") and how-to books with chapters like "Preparing to Survive Nuclear War," "Protecting Your Food Supply," "Wind Power Generation of Electricity" and "Preparing for Supernatural Warfare," with recommendations on where to buy supplies.

Such books became huge best-sellers, though never listed by an important newspaper or magazine. Radio and television gospel programs of the New Right reached millions with their message of a holy war coming against Russia, led by Israel, as the Scripture teaches. In this way the labor of the leaders of the Cold War Right, like William Buckley, came to fruition: No longer

was the American Right a creature of nativism and racism. Some of the prime movers at the Heritage were Jewish rightists like Howard Phillips; many of the Reagan agents leading the attack on human rights would be Jewish. "Zionism Equals Anti-Communism" was the slogan at the Heritage.

The liaison between the new "Judeo-Christian" Right and the old racist, anti-Semitic Right was a congressman from Georgia, the late Larry McDonald. McDonald's dossier is rich in implications:

Religious Roundtable (participant)
Kim Wickes Ministries (board member)
Christian Voice (Congressional Advisory Committee)
Conservative Caucus (field director)
Wycliffe Bible Association (board member)
Bill Glass Evangelists (board member)
Conservative Caucus Research, Analysis & Education Foundation (trustee)
John Birch Society

It should be said here that the late Congressman McDonald has been named as a suspect in a conspiracy to assassinate Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968—named in a House Select Committee report that is still classified.

We shall see how McDonald and his agents in Western Goals met with Judge William Clark and other Reagan agents in preparation for 1980.

Meanwhile, single issues—prayer in schools, abortion, anti-ERA—would be used as "bullets" to rally passions and people for Reagan. There would be new fronts, new slogans, but the brains would be Reagan's old war horses: Buckley, Phyllis Schlafly and the cabal at the Heritage Foundation; and the message was the same as the 1950s too—us against them.

By August of 1980 Reagan's Track I was in high gear. The *New York Times* quoted him as saying, "Religious America is awakening, perhaps just in time for our country's sake."

Writing in the *Chicago Tribune*, Reagan propagandist Patrick Buchanan wrote prophetically:

Meanwhile, the publications of Evangelical Christians flourish; magazines upholding the traditional Catholic viewpoints proliferate; activist New Right organizations have become too numerous to count, and the Right to Life movement seems to have a hundred competing newsletters.

Take a quick read of the *Conservative Digest's* May-June special report on "The Pro-Family Movement." There you will read the names of dozens of individuals and a score of organizations being welded together today into a political army with the power to inflict extraordinary damage at the polls. It is Reagan's army for the asking.

The unifying front for the Heritage Coalition would be called the Christian Voice. Speaking for the Voice, Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah intoned:

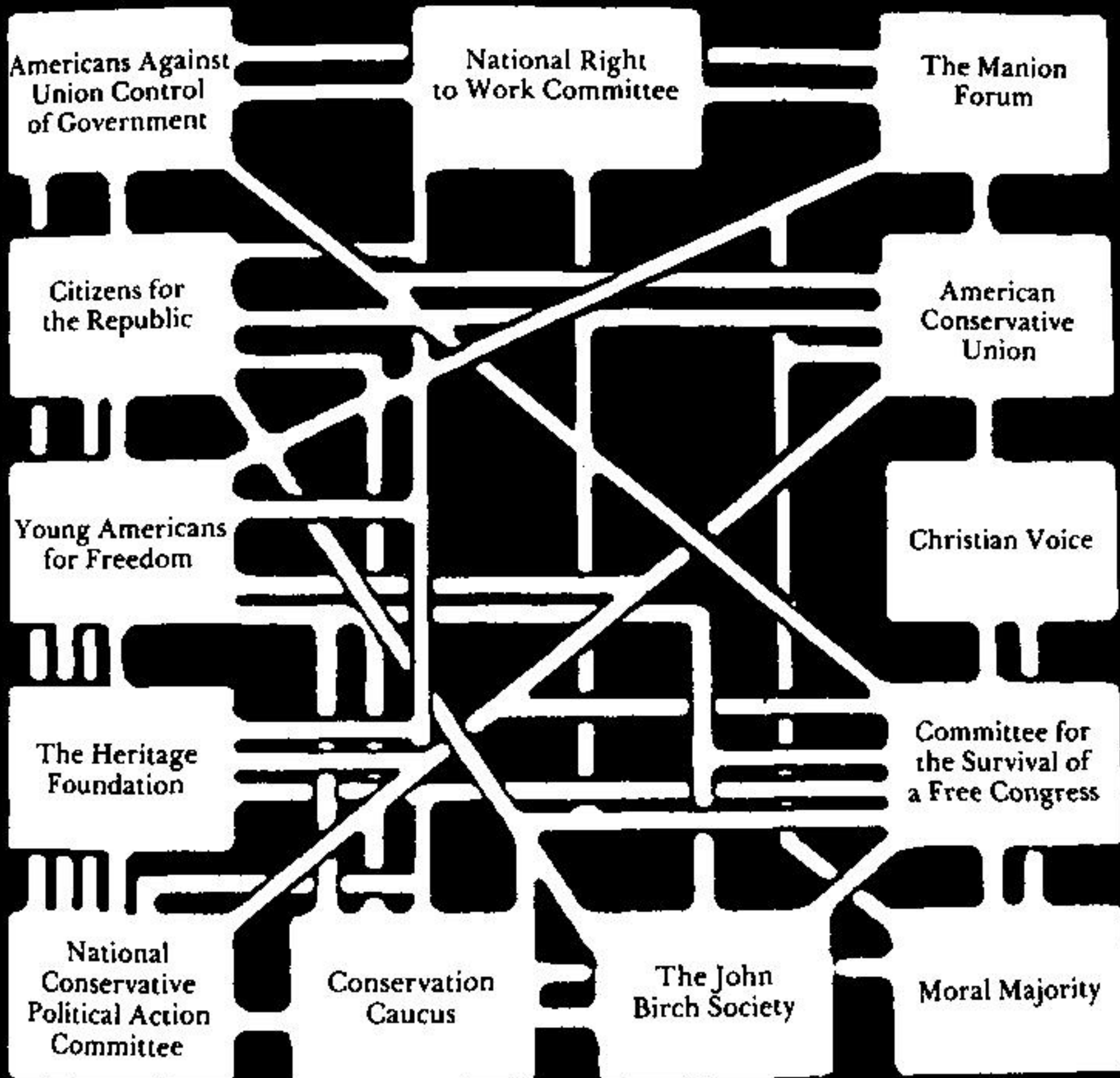
"We believe that America, the last stronghold of faith on this planet, has come under increasing attack from Satan's forces in recent years. . . . That the standards of Christian morality (long the protection and strength of the nation), the sanctity of our families, the innocence of our young, are now under the onslaught . . . launched by the rulers of darkness of this world and insidiously sustained under the ever more liberal ethic." Statements and politicians like that *never* in American history held credibility and power—until 1980.

The target of the Christian Voice would be every major antiwar senator, and especially Frank Church, whose Senate committee had exposed the "CIA horrors." The propaganda was circulating, coated with moral and religious rhetoric, and only a few concerned researchers were looking at the structure around the simplistic, single issue that had been dreamed up years before at the secret Heritage meetings.

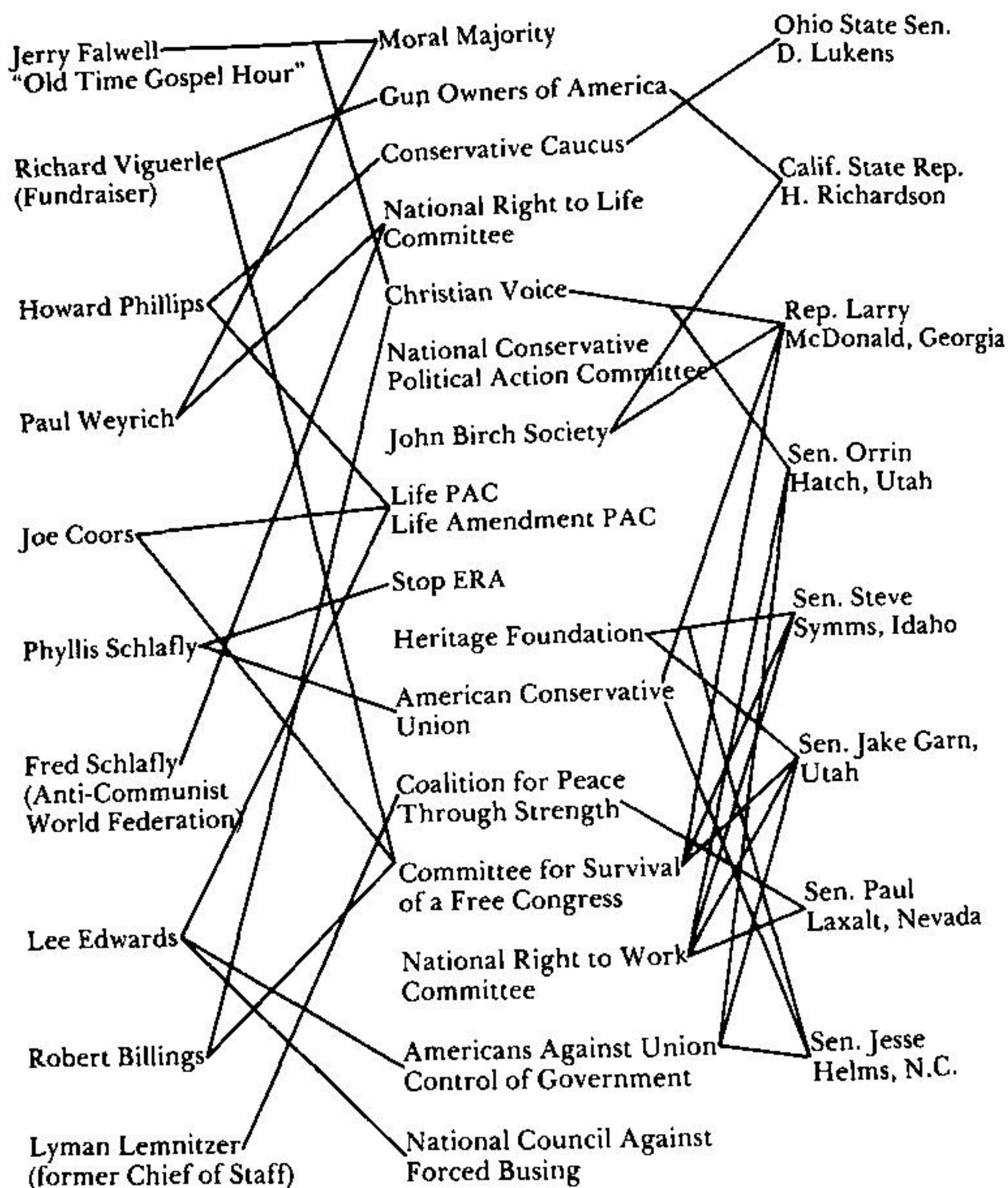
Here is how the New Right looked to them:

THE ANTI-LABOR NETWORK

A network of New Right groups has lined up solidly behind Reagan. They have developed the technique of organizing emotional, single issue campaigns that often disguise their anti-worker agenda of promoting legislation like the Taylor Law, weakening unions and providing tax breaks for the rich.



The "Right" Connections



Adapted from *The New Right vs. Women's Rights*, \$2 from Women's Organization Reproductive Choice, P. O. Box A 3423, Chicago, IL 60603.

As recently as three years ago, a sickeningly big percentage of students were blatant pacifists, wanting to knife their own native land in the dark. But now, when the shameless fools and the advocates of communism try to hold pacifist meetings—why, my friends . . . no less than 76 such exhibitionistic orgies have been raided by their fellow students, and no less than 59 disloyal Red students have received their just deserts by being beaten up so severely that never again will they raise in this free country the bloodstained banner of anarchism! That, my friends, is NEWS!

—"The Speech " from *It Can't Happen Here*,
by Sinclair Lewis

The specter our well-meaning liberal friends refuse to face is that their policy of accommodation is appeasement, and appeasement does not give you a choice between peace and war, only between fight or surrender. We are told that the problem is too complex for a simple answer. They are wrong. There is no easy answer, but there is a simple answer. We must have the courage to do what we know is morally right, and this policy of accommodation asks us to accept the greatest possible immorality. We are being asked to buy our safety from the threat of the Bomb by selling into permanent slavery our fellow human beings enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. To tell them to give up their hope of freedom because we are ready to make a deal with their slave masters.

—"The Speech " from *Where's the Rest of Me?*,
by Ronald Reagan

* * *

By the time of the elections the Reagan campaign that brought the candidate to power in 1980 had become a virtual spy ring. Richard Allen and William Casey—working through William Clark—were the spy masters. First, the men:

RICHARD ALLEN: Known to the public as an opportunist associated with master swindler Robert Vesco. Allen was fired from the Reagan campaign days before the election, after his criminal connections appeared in the press.

Reagan cynically appointed Allen to a top job as soon as Election Day had passed. Soon Allen was in deep

trouble again; he was accused of taking bribes and had to resign. One of the charges was that he had hidden \$1,000 from a Japanese newspaper in a safe. Was the \$1,000 a bribe to Allen for arranging an interview with Mrs. Reagan, as was charged, or simply 10% of a \$10,000 fee paid to the First Lady for the interview—which is what Washington researchers believe.

In any case there are much more serious charges against Allen. During 1974 and 1975 American intelligence faced a crisis: the "loss" of Portugal to the Communists through elections. The CIA moved swiftly to protect its "assets" in the Azores. One of its deep-cover troubleshooters was Richard Allen, Reagan's foreign-policy adviser.

The CIA contingency plan for Azorian succession, in the event of losing control of Portugal, had two stages and two teams: The Portugal group was a straight official U.S. and British intelligence effort to keep Portugal in NATO and prevent Portugal from going Communist. Team B, "Liberators of the Azores," was a last-ditch plan involving a violent collection of Azorian exiles and intelligence-connected soldiers of fortune who would be unleashed if the first plan failed.

According to intelligence analyst Fred Landis, General Vernon Walters and Frank Carlucci dusted off the "Communist plot to assassinate the military" that they had used to great effect in Brazil in 1964. This deception was to prepare the psychological climate for a right-wing coup on March 11, 1975 by General Spínola.

William Buckley had already prepared a cover story for his magazine *National Review*, based on the assumption that the CIA plan would succeed. The article, "The Making of Europe's Cuba" (April 11, 1974), was only slightly modified to make the Communists responsible for provoking Portuguese General Spínola prematurely: "Evidence suggests that General Spínola and his friends walked wide-eyed into a trap." A massacre followed in the wake of the CIA/Allen plot, but the Buckley cover story held until 1980.

Besides Richard Allen, the Azores team included Senator Strom Thurmond, William F. Buckley, Robert Moss, Robert Vesco, Aginter-Press and remnants of the

Algerian Secret Army Organization (OAS) living in Portugal.

Allen was the link between the CIA and the Portuguese-coup team. He not only had extensive personal investments in the Azores, but acted as a highly paid consultant for the other investors such as Vesco. All during this time Allen was the major foreign-policy adviser for Ronald Reagan.

Before the election the media had begun to sense what a war cabinet the Reagan campaign had become. Just before the GOP convention a radical magazine, *Mother Jones*, blew Allen's cover. In its story *Mother Jones* wrote that:

On December 16, 1972, with no warning, Portuguese planes bombed a few villages in northwest Mozambique. Portuguese commandos then landed in helicopters and machine-gunned fleeing villagers. Other natives were ordered back into their huts. The commandos then threw grenades into the huts and set them afire. Soldiers kicked babies, as if they were footballs, until their heads split open. Other children were bashed to death against trees.

An international scandal ensued. Comparisons were immediately made with My Lai, where many fewer people were killed. In any case, the massacre signaled the beginning of the end for the Portuguese in Africa.

Ronald Reagan's chief foreign-policy adviser, Richard Allen, was at this time the foreign agent of the Overseas Companies of Portugal (OCP), a business consortium formed by the Portuguese government in 1961 after armed revolts began in Angola. At its inception and throughout its history, OCP tried to convince Western politicians and press that there was no strife in Portugal's African colonies.

What Reagan's top adviser William Buckley had tried to do for Chile and a galaxy of dictatorships, Allen tried to do for Portugal.

To this day, Allen maintains that the incident "never did occur." In an August 1980 interview with the *Washington Post* Allen claimed that the massacre "appears to have been a Czech disinformation report." The *Post* did not pursue this point. It's a sad commentary on the American press that although the *Post* also detailed Allen's Robert Vesco connection and the bribe allegations against him, it titled its profile "Reagan's Foreign Affairs Adviser a Pro on Policy, Trade."

Allen stepped down during the Republican convention, only to be appointed National Security Adviser immediately after the election. The *Christian Science Monitor*, *Boston Globe* and the *New York Times* all carried stories in support of the *Mother Jones* article, but always stressing business corruption rather than the covert action for which Reagan had hired him in the first place.

It is the clandestine background of Allen that came into play in 1980 at the time of the "October Surprise," a term that would dominate the campaign by spring 1980.

WILLIAM CASEY: William Casey's financial problems and ambiguities are even more problematical than Richard Allen's. Suffice it to say that they have invited a series of scandals touching Watergate, Robert Vesco, Richard Nixon, the SEC, ITT and alleged links to organized crime. In 1977 Casey was busy with the Reagan pre-campaign and a garbage-conversion company called SCA Services.

At two Congressional hearings SCA was identified by an FBI informer and law-enforcement officials as a company with extensive links to organized crime. Casey's law firm is studded with crime-connected clients as well as international old companies and fronts. That is why Casey is considered the ultimate "insider," the superagent.

This multimillionaire OSS veteran was Ronald Reagan's campaign manager. It was natural that this hard-liner would gravitate from "black" Nixon propaganda to Reagan.

When Nixon was trying to drum up support for his proposed antiballistic missile (ABM) system, Casey founded a Citizens Committee for Peace with Security, which backed the plan by taking out large newspaper advertisements around the country—claiming that a public poll showed overwhelming support for the ABM.

Later it was revealed that 55 of the ad's 344 signers had defense-industry connections. The manner in which the poll was taken was subsequently criticized by six past presidents of the American Association for Public Opinion Research. Asked about the claim at his SEC confirmation hearing, Casey said: "The use of headlines

to attract attention and dramatize the thrust of the statement is rather commonly accepted in American society." Soon after the ad appeared, Nixon appointed Casey to the advisory committee of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

In 1962 Casey was a founding director of the National Strategy Information Center, a right-wing group with ties to the CIA that regularly issued warnings that "America is in fact becoming a second-class military power." Casey, Wall Street wheeler-dealer and Cold War propaganda master, had a serious alcohol problem; yet Reagan, like Nixon, seemed spellbound by the old spy's violent monologues.

During his confirmation hearings Casey failed to tell the Senate Intelligence Committee of the full extent of his lobbying on behalf of Indonesia in 1976. Casey, then a member of the law firm Rogers & Wells, represented the Indonesian oil industry before the State Department, IRS and Treasury Department, but neglected to register as a foreign lobbyist agent.

Before turning to what Casey did for Reagan prior to the election, here is a list compiled by the Ralph Nader Research Project of a few steps taken by Casey after November 1980:

- Casey expanded the scope of the CIA's covert activities while minimizing review by officials outside the intelligence community. The White House has approved a CIA plan to destabilize the Nicaraguan government; and covert operations aimed at overthrowing the governments of Cambodia and Cuba are being considered or have begun, according to watchdog organizations.
- Under an executive order signed by Reagan, the CIA for the first time in its history is authorized to conduct covert operations inside the United States. The order also permits increased surveillance of Americans and domestic organizations.
- Casey has sought complete exemption for the CIA from the Freedom of Information Act, a law he described as a "cancer" on the intelligence community.
- Acting on a request by the Reagan Administration, recommended by Casey, Congress has passed a law making it a felony to disclose the names of U.S. intelligence operatives; one critic called the bill an "Official Secrets Act."
- CIA Deputy Director Bobby Inman (who has since resigned) asked scientists to voluntarily submit their work to censor-

ship to prevent further leakage of U.S. technology to the Soviet Union.

- Casey says that the KGB's activities within the United States are "far-flung . . . but we don't know what many of [these agents] are doing."

WILLIAM CLARK: Reagan's liaison to Allen and Casey. The judge was a counterintelligence officer in Germany, as was his wife, and that is the role he has played for Reagan since 1966.

After Reagan was elected President, Clark was sounded out about senior posts in the new administration. When Reagan pressed him to take the number-two job at the State Department to help smooth rocky relations between Secretary of State Alexander Haig and the White House staff, Clark came to Washington. As background in foreign affairs, he listed his work as a young lawyer for a Salzburg ski-binding company, his wife's Czech origins and the education of his children in Germany. At one point, when Democratic Senator John Glenn asked for his views on official recognition of Taiwan, the judge answered: "I think it could be very dangerous for me to have a personal opinion in this."

Was Clark in the same covert-action intelligence league as Allen and Casey? Consider what he did in California. Betty Medsger, formerly with the *Washington Post*, argues in a new book that according to sworn testimony and interviews with many former colleagues, Clark engaged in serious deception and unethical activities throughout his years on the California Supreme Court.

Several of the allegations of wrongdoing are so serious that had they become known while Clark was serving on the court—long one of the most respected appellate courts in the nation—he probably would have been removed from the bench. At the very least Clark was guilty of planting disinformation and lies about California Supreme Court Justice Rose Bird.

Clark himself—rather than those he accused—apparently took steps to delay the court's controversial use-a-gun-go-to-prison decision until after the 1978 election in an attempt to defeat Rose Bird at the polls. This is based on heretofore secret, as well as public, por-

tions of that investigation, obtained by Medsger.

That Clark acted as a spy for Governor Reagan on the California Supreme Court is Medsger's thesis:

In 1977 Governor Jerry Brown had appointed Rose Bird to become not only the first woman Chief Justice of the California Supreme Court, but the first woman ever to serve on it.

Clark, together with legislators close to Reagan and the John Birch Society, masterminded a campaign of disinformation designed to destroy Justice Bird and the moderate wing of the California judiciary. Clark's "dirty tricks" reached their peak on the Election Day that would decide whether Justice Bird would be recalled or not. A false story was planted in the *Los Angeles Times* to defame Justice Bird by smearing her as a "permissive" voice of the Left.

Mrs. Medsger concludes her study of the Clark/Bird affair by writing that:

The events flowing from the Election Day story have made it possible for a right-wing anti-judiciary movement in California to achieve credibility.

The notion has been planted that the judiciary is not an independent branch of government, but a branch that should be manipulated by, and beholden to, a powerful law-and-order constituency. It is no accident that every Republican who ran for major office in California last year, including George Deukmejian and Pete Wilson, ran against Rose Bird as well as their opponents. Wilson was particularly audacious. During his campaign he announced that if she didn't vote his way in a particular case before the Supreme Court, he would work to have her recalled.

Since Election Day 1978 there have been seven attempts to gather signatures to recall Bird from the bench. She is to the New Right what Earl Warren was to the Old Right: a scapegoat.

California has been the dress rehearsal for this attempt to subvert the judiciary. The leaders of the attack on the California courts say they intend to use their accomplishment as a model for attacking federal courts. And the leaders of the movement in Washington to strip specific issues from the purview of the federal courts—abortion and school prayer, for example—see California as an excellent model.

William Clark was a key figure in California during the attack on the courts. His past, and what it tells us of his competence and his integrity, raises disturbing questions about his present and future power in Washington.

According to a Ralph Nader study, Reagan's nomination of Clark as the number-two official at the State Department was considered a move to plant a White House spy on Secretary of State Haig, who was not considered a team player. Clark, still on the California Supreme Court at the time of his nomination, admitted early on that he had no foreign-policy experience.

These, then, are the clandestine political operatives in Reagan's 1980 Presidential campaign. Men with deep ties to covert action—both official (CIA) and, in Clark's case, to the John Birch Society's Western Goals—who would stop at nothing to elect Ronald Reagan.

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When I was a little shaver back in the corn fields, we kids used to just wear one-strap suspenders on our pants, and we called them the galluses on our britches, but they held them up and saved our modesty just as much as if we had put on a high-toned Limey accent and talked about braces and trousers. That's how the whole world of what they call "scientific economics" is like. The Marxians think that by writing of galluses as braces, they've got something that knocks the stuffings out of the old-fashioned ideas of Washington and Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton. Well and all, I sure believe in using every new economic discovery, like they have been working out in the so-called fascist countries, like Italy and Germany and Hungary and Poland—yes, by thunder, and even in Japan—we probably will have to lick those little yellow men some day, to keep them from pinching our vested and rightful interests in China, but don't let that keep us from grabbing off any smart ideas that those cute little beggars have worked out! . . .

I want to stand up on my hind legs and not just admit but frankly holler right out that we've got to change our system a lot, maybe even change the whole Constitution—but change it legally, and not by violence—to bring it up from the horseback-and-corduroy-road epoch to the automobile and cement-highway period of today. The executive has got to have a freer hand and be able to move quick in an emergency, and not be tied down by a lot of dumb shyster-lawyer congressmen taking months to shoot off their mouths in debates. But these new economic changes are only a means to an end, and that end is and must be, fundamentally, the same principles of Liberty, Equality and Justice that were advocated by the Founding Fathers of this great land back in 1776. . . .

—"The Speech" from *It Can't Happen Here*,
by Sinclair Lewis

It's time we asked ourselves if we still know the freedoms intended for us by the Founding Fathers. James Madison said, "We base all our experiments on the capacity of mankind for self-government." This idea that government was beholden to the people, that it had no other source of power except the sovereign people, is still the newest, most unique idea in all the long history of man's relation to man. For almost two centuries we have proved man's capacity for self-government, but today we are told we must choose between a Left and Right or, as others suggest, a third alternative, a kind of safe middle ground. I suggest to you there is no Left or Right, only an up or down. Up to the maximum of individual freedom consistent with law and order, or down to the ant heap of totalitarianism, and regardless of their humanitarian purpose, those who would sacrifice freedom for security have, whether they know it or not, chosen this downward path.

—"The Speech" from *Where's the Rest of Me?*,
by Ronald Reagan

* * *

In the capacious Reagan dragnet the Carter debate briefing book was one small shiny object dredged up from the murky depths of the 1980 campaign. Reagan's secret operation—run by Casey, Allen and Clark—had as its target not the debate but the Iranian hostage crisis: the "October Surprise." Reagan didn't fear Carter's television persona in a debate; Reagan had "The Speech." He feared Carter's executive power to launch a daring rescue of the American hostages—one *that* he could not overcome, *that* would reelect Carter.

In the winter of 1980 Ronald Reagan's candidacy was floundering. He had lost Iowa to George Bush, and New Hampshire hung in the balance. Enter William Casey. Casey and Richard Allen huddle with Reagan's closest advisers, Ed Meese and Judge William Clark, and decide to pull out the stops. They decide to activate a mole in the Carter White House and other moles in the National Security Council (NSC) and in the CIA. They decide to activate a spy ring inside their own government; in diplomatic terms, they put into operation a *coup de main*.

This network of moles delivered many secrets, but none so important as news of an "October Surprise." Sensitive material from the NSC began to flow to Allen.

Secret information from CIA and ex-CIA sources reached Casey. A top "control" or "agent-handler" in Casey's ring was Stephan Halper, a "researcher" from the Bush campaign. Halper's father-in-law was Dr. Ray Cline, former deputy director of the CIA and a high Reagan adviser. Halper, through Cline, had far-reaching access to the most-sensitive sources.

Ray Cline's illustrious, or notorious, career in the clandestine world had led in his mature years to the directorship of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), housed at Georgetown University, and to the Association of Former Intelligence Officers (AFIO).

At CSIS Cline has brought together a virtual galaxy of New Right stars: writers like Michael Ledeen, Edward Luttwak, Walter Laqueur, Robert Moss, Claire Sterling, who write for organs influenced by intelligence agencies—*National Review*, *Commentary*, *The New Republic*, the *Washington Quarterly*, the *South Africa Digest*. In addition there are pamphlets, books, films—all worth mentioning because this array of media is, in large measure, taking the place of what had been the CIA-media connection that was exposed during the Watergate-Chile scandals.

In the wake of recent Congressional investigations the CIA has been forced to back off from its regular practice of recruiting agents from within the working press. But its version of history is today as widely aired as ever, thanks in good measure to the Cold War intellectual elite at the Georgetown center. In a study of CIA reorganization sponsored by CSIS, Ray Cline wrote, "I think links between our best intelligence analysts and the academic research people with expertise on subjects under study in Washington should be built up far more than has been possible because of fears that exchanging information and views with CIA is somehow a corrupting process."

In 1980 Cline was working closely with David Phillips's Association of Former Intelligence Officers. Cline and AFIO spokesmen like to quote each other to the effect that "the First Amendment is not a suicide pact." The AFIO reminds intelligence analyst Louis Wolfe of "groups that formed in Germany after World War I."

George Bush was a member of this 3,000-member lobbying apparatus, formed in 1975 to take on critics of CIA covert actions in Chile and elsewhere. AFIO's David Phillips had run the Track II covert operation to destroy Chile's constitutional democratic election in 1970.

Finally, Reagan's long-time mentor, William Buckley, worked closely with both Cline's CSIS and Phillips's AFIO. Buckley's American Chile Council (ACC) had been one of the most important fronts in the entire Heritage Foundation effort, ongoing since 1976, to install Reagan as President. The ACC, CSIS and AFIO were all stocked with militant former clandestine operatives who were ready to answer OSS veteran Casey's call to arms in February 1980.

Fred Landis's noted study of American psychological warfare led him to write that:

There are a number of organizations like Buckley's ACC, Ray Cline's CSIS and Phillips's AFIO in secret linkage. Organizations of former secret agents deserve careful study. There are three Old Boy networks of CIA hands active on Capitol Hill and in the media. David Phillips's Association of Former Intelligence Officers was the first (1975) and remains by far the most visible and important.

In addition, Ray Cline has set up a National Intelligence Study Center. Cline's group has space at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, at the Library of Congress and at the National Archives. The principal purpose of the National Intelligence Study Center is to assist former intelligence officers to come to Washington so that they can be assisted in researching, writing and placing pro-CIA articles.

James Jesus Angleton, former chief of counterintelligence at CIA, has set up a foundation called the Security and Intelligence Fund. In Angleton's view, half of Congress, the Justice Department and all the Agency's critics are dupes of a KGB-orchestrated plot to destroy the CIA. Together with superannuated FBI security officers and OSS types, he proposes to lead the charge up Capitol Hill to lobby for an American version of an Official Secrets Act.

Thanks to the background, then, of Casey, Allen and George Bush, as former director of the CIA, it is possible to grasp the range and depth of the Reagan operation in 1980.

A memo has now surfaced, directed to Meese and Casey, referring to a White House mole. This has been laughed off by Reagan and aides as the work of someone "who's read too many spy novels." Elizabeth Drew, writing in the *New Yorker*, raises a compelling argument against such wisecracks. What, she asks, if there is another possibility? It was known that the Reagan campaign was obsessed with the possibility that Carter might, shortly before the election, obtain the release of the hostages held in Iran. When Casey told a breakfast meeting of reporters at the Republican Convention in Detroit that the Reagan people thought there might be an "October Surprise," his suggestion just seemed like good politics: Any successful move by Carter would be seen as having been manipulated for the election.

At the time, Casey used the term "intelligence operation" to describe the monitoring activity the campaign would conduct in order to anticipate the "surprise." One aide told Elizabeth Drew that some of the campaign leaders saw the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962, just before that year's Congressional elections, as a parallel for what Carter might do in October 1980. "They knew what happened on what day in October 1962," this man said, "and how the Congressional elections were affected." It had already been reported that one Reagan campaign aide, Admiral Robert Garrick (Ret.), had organized a network of retired military officers to watch military bases for the movement of troops or transport planes. Garrick confirmed this.

When Carter attempted the rescue mission that failed in April 1980, the ships and helicopters were already in the area. A former Carter foreign-policy official says that a vital requirement of that or any other rescue mission was that it be carried out without any noticeable movement of troops or ships from the United States. He and others say that there were some contingency plans for another hostage-rescue attempt, but that it was never seriously considered because, among other things, the hostages had been dispersed from the American Embassy, where they had been held.

Logical observers ask what the Reagan campaign could possibly have done with information of a Carter

rescue mission. To reveal the plan or use the information for political gain would have been treasonous.

This question leads to a related question: Was the CIA loyal to Carter or to Casey? Old Boys had blocked Carter's appointee, Theodore Sorensen, to head the CIA. This unprecedented rejection of a notable figure such as Sorensen forced Carter, in 1977, to appoint an outsider, Admiral Stansfield Turner, to the directorship of the CIA.

Turner removed about 600 people from their jobs in the area of covert operations. Many of these people were placed in other positions, about 200 of them retired, and a few were fired outright. This makes for a very unhappy network.

Some of these people were what one former Carter official calls "the Cowboys—the ones who run around and do things." Moreover, Carter in 1978 issued a charter designed to put reins on the activities of the FBI and the CIA. Many of the former CIA people who helped out in the Bush campaign joined the Reagan-Bush campaign after the nomination.

Among the people working with Cline, Halper, et al. was Robert Gambino, who had been the CIA's director of security, a position that gave him access to the files of people who had received high-level security clearances. All of Casey's men were active in the Association of Former Intelligence Officers' national network.

Ms. Drew sums up well by saying that "it is known that the Reagan campaign was extremely worried that Carter might do something about the hostages. It is clear that there was within the Reagan campaign a pattern and practice of obtaining sensitive information from within the White House. Perhaps all this activity amounts to separate pebbles; perhaps it forms a mosaic. In any event, as far as is known, this sort of activity does not represent, as some suggest, 'politics as usual.' Of course, there have been [dirty tricks] before, and, especially in the pre-Watergate days, some high-handed activities on the part of administrations—but that was then. As of now there is no sign that anything quite like this has occurred before."

While I hate befogging my pages with scientific technicalities . . . I feel constrained to say here that the most elementary perusal of the Economy of Abundance would convince any intelligent student that the Cassandras who miscall the much-needed increase in the fluidity of our current circulation "inflation," erroneously basing their parallel upon the inflationary misfortunes of certain European nations in the era 1919-1923, fallaciously and perhaps inexcusably fail to comprehend the different monetary status in America inherent in our vastly greater reservoir of National Resources.

—"The Speech" from *It Can't Happen Here*,
by Sinclair Lewis

We need true tax reform that will at least make a start toward restoring for our children the American dream that wealth is denied to no one, that each individual has the right to fly as high as his strength and ability will take him. The economist Summer Schlichter has said, "If a visitor from Mars looked at our tax policy, he would conclude it had been designed by a Communist spy to make free enterprise unworkable."

—"The Speech" from *Where's the Rest of Me?*,
by Ronald Reagan

* * *

If the Casey-Allen spying had as its priority the sabotage of Carter's hostage policy, was the Carter briefing book of any importance at all? Yes. What is not generally recalled is that Carter and Reagan were even in the polls in October 1980, when the crucially important debate was held. The debate was the climax of the campaign. Reagan had to prove that he could do more than smile and joke, that he was more than an actor. In short, Reagan had to be briefed to destroy Carter in detail. Here are some of the facts he was able to utilize thanks to the "pilfered" Carter material.

- Reagan had said before that he was not concerned with nuclear proliferation, but now he said he was misquoted. This blunted Carter's charge during the debate.
- Carter charged that "this nation, in the eight years before I became President, had its own military strength decrease. Seven out of the eight years the budget for defense went down, 37% in all." Reagan was correct in replying that, in the two Republican administrations preceding Mr. Carter's, except the last year of President Ford's term, Pentagon budget requests were cut when the Democrats had majorities in

both houses of Congress. He also said that Mr. Carter, after he entered the White House, had reduced Mr. Ford's outgoing five-year defense plan. What he did not say is that increases *he* would put into effect would raise the military budget above the level that President Ford had projected.

- Reagan was also correct in saying that Carter initially cut 60 ships from the Ford program, halted the B-1 bomber, stopped the Minuteman missile production line and delayed the Trident submarine. Carter, unfortunately, failed to respond that Reagan was too sweeping when he said that the President had delayed the development of cruise missiles. After the cancellation of the B-1 program, the Carter Administration accelerated development of air-launched cruise missiles but, for diplomatic and technical reasons, slowed development of ground-launched and sea-launched cruise missiles.
- Carter accused Reagan of increasing California's budget to record highs. But Reagan was ready with a clever joke about Georgia. For the same reason, Carter's charges that Reagan would slash Social Security fell flat.

■ The *New York Times*' analysis of the debate is quite informative.

For weeks the Carter forces had argued that, in a debate with Mr. Reagan, the President would show himself in much better command of detail. He may have done so, particularly in regard to Mr. Reagan's record. But it is far from clear that the national television audience—estimated at up to 120 million people—was more impressed by detailed arguments with lots of numbers than by the relaxed manner and the ability to shrug off an attack that Mr. Reagan regularly displayed.

■ The debate was a fraud because Reagan had been stuffed with stolen information. Just as he had stolen football plays while in high school, and President Johnson's message on Vietnam to the Governors Conference in 1967, so Reagan had stolen the other side's signals in 1980. The stakes were high: The debate was the key event of the race.

Reagan's aides confided to *Time* magazine that the stolen documents "had included every important item Carter used on the air." David Stockman bragged in a speech that Reagan would win the debate and the election because of the "filched" briefing material.

Casey and Allen had been sucking up information right across the federal bureaucracy; the briefing mate-

rial used in the debate was one of their ancillary discoveries. Casey's campaign aide Max Hugel was later rewarded for his efforts by being appointed to head covert actions at CIA (though he was subsequently fired over charges of improper stock-trading purchases).

During those few short months, March to October 1980, a domestic "destabilization" of America by Americans was shaking the country, unknown to its citizens. To recapitulate: Casey used the term "intelligence operation" to describe the "monitoring" when he and Reagan's campaign chief of staff, Edwin Meese, met with reporters at a breakfast during the Republican National Convention in Detroit in July 1980. A Republican official said use of that term "alarmed" Meese and others in the campaign and was not repeated.

Robert Garrick, who was in charge of plans and policy for Reagan's campaign, said the campaign Intelligence Group's information came chiefly from a network of retired military officers who monitored the movements of U.S. troops and transport planes at various air bases across the country.

A former high-level campaign adviser to Reagan said that one of the campaign chiefs, Richard Allen, received copies of portions of daily staff reports that had been sent to Carter's adviser on national security affairs, Zbigniew Brzezinski. Brzezinski told the *Post* that the reports to him from NSC staff members on each day's activities were "sometimes extraordinary sensitive material of the highest nature . . . any unauthorized distribution to anyone outside the White House would be very serious."

The stealing of the debate material is compounded by the involvement of journalists in the scenario. Coaching Reagan were William Buckley, George Will, Evans and Novak, to name a few. These men were, in fact, acting as Reagan agents.

High Carter adviser Jody Powell had tried with little success to identify the double standard applied to Carter by Reagan media friends. Powell writes that:

The problem is that Will also put himself over, in the spring of 1980 at least, as a reporter, telling his readers that he had heard on both sides of the Atlantic that there would be an "Oc-

tober Surprise" and that Carter would probably arrange the release of the hostages just in time for the November election.

At the time, the possibility that Carter might succeed in bargaining the release of the U.S. hostages from the Tehran embassy was one that haunted the Reagan campaign. They saw what happened on the very day of the Wisconsin primary—April 1, 1980. Polls had been showing [Edward] Kennedy running very close to Carter. At 7:18 a.m. on primary day Carter appeared on network TV to announce a possible deal on the hostages. He won the primary by 20 points.

On no less than three occasions in Campaign '80 journalists friendly to Reagan—Will, Evans and Novak, and Jack Anderson—reported the possibility of an October Surprise. The effect of such stories, which had no foundation in reality, was preemptive downplaying of an actual hostage release, by implying that it would merely be part of a sordid campaign maneuver; in effect, playing politics with people's lives. So was Will being a reporter or a political activist?

When the hostage rescue attempt came in April, it was no surprise—to the Iranians. We shall see that Reagan's "media assets" (Buckley's term) worked at two levels. First there was "disinformation." The media was being used, unwittingly. That explained, for example, the *Los Angeles Times*' misunderstanding about the heavy cost to the Reagan regime that the discovery of the pilfered debate book brought about.

This seems particularly true when the relatively unimportant fruits of the effort that have come to light thus far are weighed against the potential cost to President Reagan of the present FBI and congressional investigations into possible White House moles, the removal of national-security documents, the pilfering of Carter's debate briefing book and allegations that "sexual favors" were exchanged for Carter White House information.

What first made Carter's aides suspicious was the glaring appearance of disinformation. Quoting Carter adviser Lloyd Cutler: "In all their talk about the October Surprise, there was a certain element of disinformation or misinformation. In October, Evans and Novak ran a story that I had just been to Geneva making a secret trip and a handshake deal to bring the hostages out just before the election. It was just made up out of whole cloth. I had not been in Geneva, except in May."

The column by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak,

a special "Inside Report" timed for release to subscribers a few days before the election, said Carter had decided to "compel" transfer to Iran of the frozen assets and hand over \$1 billion in gold "at once."

The column also reported a "deal exchanging American hostages for military equipment vital to the Iranian war effort" and spoke of war materiel of various sorts being transferred from military warehouses to the Philadelphia Navy Yard for transfer to Iran.

"Roly [Evans] is an old friend," Cutler said, "and when I reproached him, he indicated that it had come from an impeccable source, which I understood to be in the Reagan campaign. Whether it was disinformation-planting stories or making them up—or whether they had some sort of intelligence operation which brought in the wrong intelligence, I could not say."

Carter aide Jody Powell has documented the disinformation campaign with some specificity for those like Reagan who first called the entire affair "much ado about nothing."

Although careful reporters were able to spot and largely to foil two of the disinformation efforts, a third was a spectacular success, resulting in a series of columns by Jack Anderson that appeared in hundreds of newspapers around the country.

According to Powell, in August 1980 the legendary Anderson says he was presented with documents showing that Carter had ordered an invasion of Iran to take place in mid-October. This "tentative invasion date" was confirmed, according to Anderson, by someone working with the National Security Council in the White House. According to the columnist, his NSC source also said that the President had issued the order "to save himself from almost certain defeat in November." From August 18 through August 22 Anderson wrote and distributed five columns based on this information. Powell insists that the great muckraker was the victim of highly sophisticated black propaganda and lies.

In fact, no such orders ever were issued, and the idea of launching a second rescue mission never was seriously considered or discussed. Although a contingency plan was prepared as a matter of course, conditions nev-

er arose that were even remotely consistent with its use.

If, as Anderson claims, he has documents showing that such orders were issued, those documents were forgeries. "If someone on the NSC staff confirmed the authenticity of these documents, much less described the President's motives for the nonexistent orders, he was lying," Powell maintains.

As the first Anderson columns about the politically inspired invasion orders were appearing, *Washington Post* defense correspondent George Wilson became the target for the second disinformation effort. Wilson was contacted by an anonymous source who claimed to work for the CIA. For several weeks this source tried to sell Wilson a variety of stories, all damaging to the Carter Administration. One described a CIA story, supposedly done in connection with the April attempt to rescue the hostages, which had predicted that the effort would result in 60% casualties among the hostages.

Wilson was interested, but insisted that he needed something more substantial before he could write such a story. In mid-September he received through the mail what appeared to be the "something more" that he had requested: a copy of a CIA study, dated March 16, 1980, titled "OPLAN Eagle Claw Loss Estimate." The document stated that 20% of the hostages would be killed or seriously wounded during the assault on the compound, another 25% during the effort to locate and identify the hostages and another 15% during their evacuation to the waiting helicopters.

That document was a forgery. In the words of former Deputy CIA Director Frank C. Carlucci, the man who supposedly ordered the study, "I have been unable to find anything in this alleged CIA document that is either accurate or which approximates any memorandum we prepared." Wilson was persuaded by Carlucci's analysis, which listed a series of flaws and errors in the document, and wrote no story.

The third and by far the most vicious portion of the disinformation campaign was launched on Capitol Hill in early September. Allegations were spread by Republican Senate staff members that David Aaron, deputy to National Security Adviser Brzezinski, had been respon-

sible for the arrest and execution of a valuable American spy in the Soviet Union. The charges were proved false, but not until after the election. In the meantime the staff members succeeded in provoking a full-scale investigation by the Senate Intelligence Committee and in leaking word of the supposedly secret investigation, along with Aaron's name, to several news organizations, including the *New York Times*.

On September 23 the *Times*, persuaded that journalists were being used, blew the whistle on the smear campaign. A week later Cable News Network senior correspondent Daniel Schorr, writing in the *New Republic*, concluded an in-depth analysis of the affair by describing the attack on Aaron as "a classic piece of covert action [that] left the desired taint of suspicion."

Those responsible for the Aaron smear were members of "The Madison Group"—established, according to columnist William Safire, to "embarrass, bedevil and defeat" the Carter Administration. This group of ultra-reactionary Senate staff members maintained a liaison with the Reagan campaign through the Heritage Foundation.

The mole propaganda concerning Aaron is now understood for what it was—disinformation to protect the Reagan mole that *was* functioning in the NSC.

Powell summarizes the affair in this way:

Question: What other dirty tricks did the Reagan campaign perpetrate?

Hint: The notebook was stolen not from the campaign headquarters but from the White House. Fewer than a dozen people ever saw it. The person who took it almost certainly had access to other information even more valuable to the Reagan campaign. It is logical that he (she?) would risk copying and sneaking out a thick notebook but ignore more important information that could be passed over the telephone?

Question: Who else in the Reagan campaign was involved? Was the mole paid in cash? With a job? A pat on the head?

Hint: [White House aides] Baker and Gergen have only the vaguest recollection of the whole incident; they don't even know who handed them the notebook. (Presumably it was left under Gergen's pillow by the tooth fairy.) Baker described how he agonized over the "ethical dilemma" presented by the stolen material, but now says that he didn't even try to find out who was responsible so that he could make sure that it didn't hap-

pen again. If you can swallow that, take a friend along the next time you buy a used car.

Question: Did Reagan know that he was using stolen material?

Hint: Baker, Stockman and Gergen swear that they never told their boss anything. Remember, however, that both camps viewed the debate as the most crucial event of the campaign. At that point, pollsters from both sides saw the race as a dead heat. If you can believe that Reagan was never told that what he was hearing in the rehearsal was the genuine stuff, not just someone's best guess of what Carter might say, take two friends and a lawyer to help you with that car.

The following document, written on White House stationery and dated October 10, 1980, was reprinted in the *Washington Post* on July 7, 1983:

Memorandum for the Cabinet

FROM: Anne Wexler

TO: Al McDonald

SUBJECT: Economic Information

Because the Congress is not in session, there is no *Inflation Report* this week. Enclosed are Economic Talking Points and guidance on response to questions on the President's comments on the Federal Reserve's policies. These documents are *not* for public distribution, but they should be given to your key appointed officials. It is important that these materials be followed closely when talking about economic matters. Your assistance with this will be greatly appreciated.

Document prepared for the Carter Cabinet sent by Reagan volunteer Daniel Jones to Reagan campaign official Robert Keith Gray. (Handwritten in one corner are the words "Bob-Report from White House mole.")

On October 10, 1983 the *Washington Post* published a photo of a stolen document taken from the Carter White House. So this is a case of espionage. But is it just another campaign dirty trick, or something more?

I know the press only too well. Almost all editors hide away in spider-dens—men without thought of family or public interest or the humble delights of jaunts out-of-doors—plotting how they can put over their lies, advancing their own positions and filling their greedy pocketbooks by calumniating statesmen who have given their all for the common good and who are vulnerable because they stand out in the fierce light that beats around the throne.

—“The Speech” from *It Can't Happen Here*,
by Sinclair Lewis

Already some of the architects of accommodation have hinted what their decision will be if their plan fails and we are faced with the final ultimatum. The English commentator [Kenneth] Tynan has put it: He would rather live on his knees than die on his feet. Some of our own have said, “Better Red than dead.” If we are to believe that nothing is worth the dying, when did this begin? Should Moses have told the children of Israel to live in slavery rather than dare the wilderness? Should Christ have refused the Cross? Should the patriots at Concord Bridge have refused to fire the shot heard round the world? Are we to believe that all the martyrs of history died in vain?

—“The Speech” from *Where's the Rest of Me?*,
by Ronald Reagan

* * *

We are now obliged to approach the threshold question of Reagan's “October Surprise.” In the light of the Reagan camp's obsession with Carter's handling of the Iranian hostage crisis and the revelation that William Casey had woven a web of domestic espionage to catch National Security Council information, the basic question arises: Was the Iranian crisis, to the Reagan forces in 1980, what the Paris peace talks were to the Nixon campaign in 1968 and 1972—matters of the highest national security that could be manipulated in order to gain political power, as we now know Nixon did in both '68 and '72?

The obligatory question is: What were the Reagan-Casey agents looking for? If it was information about a hostage rescue (admittedly the only event that could have stopped Reagan), what would Reagan have

done with it? What could he have done without exposing himself to charges of criminal opportunism that threatened American lives? Could or would the Reagan-Casey-Allen spy ring disclose prematurely or blow the rescue operation—the operation that would also rescue Jimmy Carter's chances for reelection?

The "debacle in the desert," as the aborted rescue mission of April 1980 would be called, doomed the Carter Presidency once and for all. Did the Ayatollah's military and police have advance warning? Did someone sabotage the top-secret plans to rescue the American hostages? Further, did the constant Reagan-campaign charge that Carter was "weak" force his hand in a rescue scheme that was probably doomed to fail? Most alarming, according to Carter aide Hamilton Jordan, was the disinformation of March 29, 1980. A professionally forged, very clever letter purporting to be from Carter was given to Khomeini through "channels." The letter, which apologized for all past U.S. "crimes against Iran," was leaked to the British news agency Reuters and then released to the world press. The ploy worked.

The American media refused for weeks to accept Carter's protestations of forgery. By the time it was realized that someone had foisted a forgery on Khomeini, another dirty trick was wrecking Carter's desperate attempts to keep the rescue mission secret.

On Sunday, April 20, 1980, the *Washington Star* played a long, vivid story—"the hostages can be freed"—by one Miles Copeland. The Carter White House and the National Security Council were aghast. They knew who Miles Copeland was. Copeland was so high in the secret world of the Central Intelligence Agency that he had been the American liaison to Nasser and Egypt during the most sensitive period of Middle East maneuvering in the 1950s. Copeland, in his book *Game of Nations*, discussed in detail the "zero-sum" techniques used by the CIA to "destabilize" governments—as in Iran, where Copeland had been a master player in the 1953 coup that restored power to the Shah.

Copeland, then, had intimate knowledge of Egypt, Iran and Oman and the oil sheikhdoms (where his own private-intelligence PR firm operated for giant oil con-

sortiums). This is important because Egyptian, Iranian and Protectorate sources figured vitally in the secret hostage negotiations and rescue plans; these same sources had been Copeland's for many years past.

Oman was a primary channel in the flow of information about the rescue. Carter, in his memoirs, stresses again and again the almost-incredible lengths to which the President's White House and National Security Council (NSC) were going to keep the raid secret. But Reagan had a "mole" and, it is becoming credible to believe, a "back-channel"—Miles Copeland and his various firms and fronts of Old Boys, referred to in his own *Star* article. The Carter White House was also concentrating on Oman.

"My persistent anxiety," wrote Carter, "was to maintain secrecy. However, I was soon forced to share the news with one other head of state, when I received information about disturbing stories originating with a former British officer in Oman, who was employed by the Sultan. He had reported to British officials in London that we had planes in Oman [which was true] and that they were loaded with ammunition and supplies for the Afghan freedom fighters. The British and Omanis were getting nervous, and I had to send Warren Christopher to London to brief Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Foreign Minister Peter Carrington about the true purpose of the planes. Christopher was careful not to ask them for any comment, but simply informed them about our plans for the rescue."

Copeland had worked with British intelligence since World War II, and his MI-6 assets in Oman are the best there are, his colleagues claim. The ships involved in the rescue were deployed in the Gulf of Oman, while the transport planes supporting them were based in Egypt. There was nothing for Casey's retired watchers to watch in the United States. Casey's eyes and Copeland's were watching from the Middle East, the source of the back-channel.

An almost-legendary figure in Iran, Copeland refers to every level and area of the country continually, and it is clear that his contacts in SAVAK, the Iranian secret police, are still alive. Copeland had helped to set up

the notorious, murderous secret police of the Shah in the first place.

According to authoritative accounts, although the Joint Chiefs of Staff had told Carter categorically after the hostages were taken that no rescue effort was feasible, the military had done a complete turnaround in the intervening months. They knew exactly where the hostages were (a fact they hadn't been certain of at the outset), they had evolved a plan of operation in which they believed, and they had a force in training to execute it.

Copeland starts out his astounding "speculative fiction" by saying:

Early last December a young chap from a certain government agency made the rounds of us old-timers, "unofficially and off the record," to ask whether we thought an "Entebbe type" or SWAT-type raid on the U.S. Embassy in Tehran was feasible. His intention was to elicit a resounding no so as to justify President Carter's policy of "restraint" when pressure was building up to get the hostages home by Christmas.

Copeland—code name "Mr. Lincoln"—then discloses that he, "Safford," "the Weasel," "Masterson" and "the Whistler" were all somehow involved in the military planning for some kind of surprise rescue. The Weasel, et al., Copeland assures us, were the kings of covert action—from OSS days with none other than William Casey.

Shortly after being approached by the government, Copeland states that he and the other Old Boys did, in reality, work out a rescue scenario. If one compares the "Copeland Plan" with what, in fact, we know the Carter Plan contemplated, the most serious questions arise.

Hamilton Jordan quotes his boss, Jimmy Carter, at a National Security Council luncheon meeting on April 11, 1980:

"As you know," said Carter, "the first week the hostages were seized, I ordered the Joint Chiefs to develop a rescue plan that could be used in dire circumstances. A team of expert paramilitary people now report that they have confidence in their ability to rescue our people. Before I make up my mind, I want to know your reactions."

The President might say—or even believe—he hadn't made up his mind, but I knew he had.

So secret was the meeting that Secretary of State Cyrus Vance only learned of the decision to proceed with the rescue after April 11, because he had not been in Washington for the meeting. On April 20 Vance read the Copeland story in the *Star* and, perhaps because of it, demanded to know how much was true. Carter told Vance the plan. Vance was very upset because it was too late; the "go" order had been given on the 18th. On April 21 Vance submitted his letter of resignation to Carter.

Vance had not known, but the NSC had. We know now that the Reagan-Casey spy operation had moles in the NSC. Besides moles, there is strong indication that Casey, Copeland and the Old Boys had deep back-channels all along from MI-6 and old CIA "assets."

Copeland, knowing he's in a minefield with his speculation, attempts to cover himself:

Before proceeding, it must be stated that President Carter has not confided his intentions to me, nor has this article been cleared by the CIA or anyone else. It has, however, been agreed to by my old colleagues, who wish to be associated with it.

Copeland then discusses how he and other CIA agents "turned" the crowd when the Agency orchestrated the overthrow of Iran's democratically elected government of Mossadegh in 1953. We now know from the Carter memoirs and other sources that that is precisely what the U.S. plan to rescue the hostages envisaged, and that CIA street agents were in place and ready to go into action when the violence around the Embassy reached the stage of mass confusion.

If we compare what President Carter and his aides have written and said about the rescue plan, one conclusion is inescapable.

RECONNAISSANCE

CARTER

We had blueprints of our Embassy buildings in Tehran, of course. . . .

Much more important, we received information from someone (who cannot be identified) who was thoroughly familiar with the compound, knew where every American hostage was located, how many and what kind of guards were there at different times during the night, and the daily schedule of the hostages and their captors. This was the first time we knew the precise location of the Americans.

COPELAND

Already we have detailed maps of the [American] Embassy compound.

We will need to know more, however, about where and how the prisoners are kept, where the booby traps, if any, are planted, how the patrols work, what arms and munitions there are, how food and medical supplies are delivered.

RECRUITMENT OF AGENTS

CARTER

Our agents, who moved freely in and out of Tehran under the guise of business or media missions, had studied the degree of vigilance of the captors.

Newsweek, May 12

For weeks beforehand, American intelligence agents, some posing as European businessmen, had infiltrated Iran to ease the way for the commando raid. Some agents, presumably in Tehran much longer, may have penetrated the ranks of the militants guarding the hostages at the U.S. Embassy.

COPELAND

Considering what we might offer . . . and considering that there are sometimes as many as 40 of them [the students] away from the compound out on the town or spending the night at their homes, this is an easier feat than it might appear [recruitment].

Considering the number of prospective agents—and, to the CIA pro, every one of those students is a potential agent until proven otherwise—the law of averages is on our side.

Newsweek, May 12

A senior U.S. official told *Newsweek* that excellent intelligence had been turned up on the Tehran embassy—"virtually from the inside." Writing in the *London Daily Telegraph*, respected defense correspondent Clare Hollingworth claimed that more than 100 American agents still were operating in Iran last week. "Iranian members of the teams," Hollingworth wrote, "managed to 'bend' several of the captors, who then became 'moles' inside the embassy. These 'moles' were ready and willing to assist in the escape."

COVER

CARTER

The trucks our agents had purchased would be removed from a warehouse on the outskirts of Tehran, driven to a point near the mountain hiding place, and used to carry the rescue team to the city. At a prearranged time the rescue team would simultaneously enter the foreign-ministry building and the compound, overpower the guards and free the American hostages. . . . The helicopters would land at the sites, picking up our people and carrying them to an abandoned airstrip near the city.

Communication between the Pentagon and the rescue team, using satellites and other rally facilities, would be instantaneous. I would receive telephone reports from David Jones and Harold Brown [from the Pentagon].

COPELAND

There will be a "staging area" somewhere within helicopter range of Tehran at which brush-up training will be given the two teams.

There also will be a point . . . known as the . . . "pen-ultimate position," from which the attack actually will be launched.

The choice of this latter is highly important. It—or they—must be near enough to the target to allow for a thrust lasting less than one minute and, at the same time, it must be part of the "peoplescape" in the immediate area.

This [staging area] may or may not be the same as the "field headquarters" where some communications assistant will monitor the operation to keep Washington informed. . . .

SAFE HAVEN AND EVACUATION

CARTER

From there [the abandoned airstrip near Tehran], two C-141s would fly all the Americans to safety across the desert area of Saudi Arabia.

We also planned the procedure [after the mission was completed] for notifying Oman, Saudi Arabia and Egypt, whose territories would be used or crossed during the mission.

COPELAND

There are several well-stocked areas near Tehran to which our helicopters may flee in a very short time with minimum danger of being followed. . . .

This [use of foreign airspace or landing areas], of course, is a matter for our State Department. For present purposes it need only be said that our government has more friends in the Middle East than is commonly suspected.

ANESTHETIZATION

NEWSWEEK

There was speculation that the Americans intended to use nonlethal gas to neutralize the embassy guards.

COPELAND

This step, which security considerations prevent me from describing in any detail, consists of measures to incapacitate all resistance.

It includes such measures as . . . the use of stunning or nauseating but otherwise harmless gases. . . .

SECRECY OF MISSION

CARTER

"On April 18 I had quite a discussion with my closest advisers about how to deal with the Congressional leadership on the Iran decision. Fritz [Mondale] led the argument for minimum advance notice and maximum secrecy. Cy [Vance] took the opposite tack, maintaining that we should advise the Democratic and Republican leaders in the House and Senate. I agreed with Fritz. . . ."

COPELAND

Unfortunately, this whole plan, whether executed separately or as part of an overall military assault, has a weakness. . . . It is that our government can take no action which does not have the full support of the people and of Congress.

There is a sad quote in Jimmy Carter's journal for April 21.

We listened carefully to all news reports, but heard only one other indication of a leak. In monitoring radio broadcasts all over Iran, we heard a story from up near the Iraqi border of an attempted rescue mission. It turned out to be a repeat of a conjectural story which had run earlier in the *Washington Star*—no damage was done.

But the damage *was* done. In his article Copeland dwells on CIA assets in Iraq. The Iranians have made clear that they had advance warning. Only the mechanical problems in the desert that aborted the full raid prevented the police and military from slaughtering the American hostages, agents, diplomats—all. *By Sunday, April 20, according to Carter, Radio Iran was broadcasting Copeland's story:* The "surprise" was spoiled. Iranian double-agents had remained loyal to the Ayatollah as had Western-trained military men. Repeat: According to the highest Iranian sources, the rescue of the hostages had been blown. Were the Iranians bluffing when they insisted that the raid never could have succeeded, was doomed in advance?

There is a final, strange piece in the puzzle. In 1980, during the hostage crisis, U.S. Army Intelligence set up a special unit in Iran. "Intelligence Support Activity" (ISA) was so secret that it operated virtually under an illegal status. It has since been disbanded. In 1980 CIA Director Stansfield Turner did *not* know of ISA's existence, but Reagan's campaign director, William Casey, *did*. According to a former Carter associate, the ISA "smells" like a back-channel of Casey's.

The coincidence between Copeland's version and official plans revealed by Carter, Jordan, Powell and others is too great to let pass. Copeland and the official sources agree: Disguise would be used; false communications would be employed to confuse the authorities; agents pretending to be media people would infiltrate the compound during the excitement. Further, Copeland chatters along about cover stories when, in fact, it is Copeland's *Star* piece that ripped to shreds what Hamilton Jordan described as "a disinformation

campaign that will relax the Iranians."

There were more than mechanical problems at "Desert One," where the mission began. The commander of the operation, Charles Beckwith, let it be known that there was a sudden and suspicious rate of traffic that night in the desert. In Washington, planners feared that the raid's cover had been blown. Had it? According to *Time* magazine:

One of the many ironies of the entire mission was the fact that the C-130s were heading for a remote spot in the desert that the Iranians had feared might someday be used by U.S. forces. Indeed, they even had a map of the spot. It was discovered in the papers of Mahmoud Jaafarian, a pro-Shah counterinsurgency strategist who was executed after the revolution. . . . Jaafarian told his captors that the staging site had been secretly built by the CIA, with the *Shah's* knowledge, for possible emergency use.

Carter's plan to rescue the hostages had even more odds going against it. William Casey's law firm, Rogers and Wells, represented the Pahlavi Foundation, a huge conduit for the Shah and his family that specialized in narcotics and overseas covert acts. The Foundation was riddled with agents who had served with Casey and Copeland in the OSS and throughout the Cold War.

Mary McGrory, the Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist, speculated in the *Washington Post*: "What would the old soldiers have done? Would they have told the public that Carter was planning a coup to rescue the hostages . . . at the risk of endangering the lives of those involved?"

Somehow, the Iranians did know. Rescue-team leader Charles Beckwith himself told *Newsweek* that a number of CIA agents in Tehran had pulled out; so if the rescue had gone forward, the Americans would have been compromised and at total risk.

We now know from the *New York Times* book on the aborted mission that within a week of the Embassy takeover, "Brzezinski convened in his office the first in a series of high-level secret meetings of what came to be known as the 'Military Committee.' This committee, which met two or three times a week, also laid the plans

for the rescue effort that was finally launched the following April."

Among those the group consulted was H. Ross Perot, the flamboyant Dallas millionaire who ten months earlier had employed former Green Beret officers in a successful raid that freed two of his Electronic Data Systems Corporation employees from a Tehran jail.

Perot had worked closely with Casey and many of his Old Boy aides over the years. So here is still another potential back-channel to the Reagan operation.

Is it coincidence that on April 9, 1980, the students holding the Embassy vowed "to destroy the hostages immediately" if the U.S. began "even the smallest military act against Iran"?

Quoting "informed sources," the *New York Times* too reported on the rescue plans with words that had been anticipated in Copeland's article. The *Times'* maps also amplified Copeland's predictions.

RESCUE TEAM

NEW YORK TIMES

Rescue teams move to warehouse on outskirts of Tehran for last-minute briefing by American infiltrators.

COPELAND

It is essential, however, that for both internal and external reasons, the rescue team must have a definite mercenary character and be a discreet combination of Qashqais, Kurds and, of course, *Farsis*.

ESCAPE

NEW YORK TIMES

Troops break into embassy, cut telephone and electricity lines.

One group neutralizes Iranians; *another* frees hostages and evacuates them by helicopters from the embassy grounds or nearby Anjadki soccer stadium.

COPELAND

Once the embassy has been entered and the defenses neutralized, "Team A" will have on its hands a lot of confused defenders and very sleepy hostages.

By then, our three helicopters . . . will land at designated points, and the attackers will begin leading the hostages. . . .

Meanwhile, "Team B" . . . will have taken control of all communications into and out of the compound. . . .

Does this sinister evidence tally with Ronald Reagan's record on campaign covert action and his attitude toward Iran? In 1979 Reagan charged that the revolt in Iran "could have been halted" if the U.S. had not "appeased student rebels." A familiar Reagan theme sounded on the *first* day of his campaign. Pressed by reporters, Reagan said, "There were certain leaders who could have been separated from their followers, and they weren't." He said such a separation, by throwing the student and Islamic leaders in jail, "would have been justified because they were inciting riots and causing death and destruction."

When a reporter pointed out that Iran's jails were full of leaders of anti-Shah factions, Reagan replied: "I don't know about that. I just know what people on the scene told me." He declined to identify them.

So much for the candidate's sources "on the scene." Were they now his campaign back-channel?

Reagan sidestepped further questions and concluded his press conference with what was later exposed as an outright lie:

Reagan criticized former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and actress Jane Fonda by telling a story he said was first told to him by a former prisoner of war: "The young man's shoulder and arm were crushed, and they tied his arm to a wall until he agreed to meet with Ramsey Clark and Jane Fonda in Hanoi," Reagan said. The crowd booed Clark and Fonda.

Reagan's stale attacks on antiwar critics aside, the press conference was revealing, though the candidate did not say on that day—as he had before—that "espionage in a political campaign is not a criminal act."

What did Reagan know about the rescue mission, and when did he know it? How much more does Charles Beckwith know? Reagan rewarded Beckwith for his "failure" by giving him the top job of the 1984 Olympics security and anti-terrorism responsibility. Copeland's article appeared in the U.S. 96 hours before the rescue began, and in Iran it was broadcast repeatedly up until the day itself. Why are those who blame researchers and the Freedom of Information Act for "emasculating covert action" silent on this shocking leak?

This question is as terrible as those asked of Nixon

and Kissinger about the manipulation of the Paris Peace Talks for political gain. A terrible question of treason.

When I was a kid, one time I had an old-maid teacher that used to tell me, "Buzz, you're the thickest-headed dunce in school." But I noticed that she told me this a whole lot oftener than she used to tell the other kids how smart they were, and I came to be the most talked-about scholar in the whole township. The United States Senate isn't so different, and I want to thank a lot of stuffed shirts for their remarks about Yours Truly.

—"The Speech" from *It Can't Happen Here*,
by Sinclair Lewis

Ever since my birth my nickname has been "Dutch," and I have been particularly fond of the colors that were exhibited—red, white and blue. I have not been uncomfortable on the various occasions when I have had an overwhelming impulse to brandish them. I have heard more than one psychiatrist say that we imbibe our ideas from our mother's milk. Then, I must say, my breast-feeding was the home of the brave baby and the free bosom. I was the hungriest person in the house, but I only got chubby when I exercised in the crib; any time I wasn't gnawing on the bars, I was worrying with my thumb-in-my-mouth habits, which have symbolically persisted throughout my life.

—"The Speech" from *Where's The Rest of Me?*,
by Ronald Reagan

In late 1979 and all of 1980, while the Reagan spy ring was being unleashed on the White House and the NSC, there was at the same time an overt propaganda campaign grinding out its themes of democratic weakness and moles. This disinformation was the public face of the campaign. It covered, besides the covert actions of Casey and Allen, a secret Reagan foreign policy and a domestic-crime connection.

To appreciate Reagan's intimacy with crime and crime unions, it is helpful to recall his rise to power in SAG in the late 1940s—thanks to the support of known gangsters like "studio representative" Johnny Rosselli and crime-infiltrated craft unions like those giving sweetheart contracts to the major studios. Also, to understand the power of the organized-crime connection in the 1980 campaign, it will be illustrative to view what choices Reagan made regarding labor after the campaign.

On August 27, 1980, candidate Reagan met pri-

vately in Columbus, Ohio, with Teamsters Union Vice-President Roy Williams and Jackie Presser. This 45-minute meeting preceded Reagan's address to the Presser-controlled Ohio Conference of Teamsters, kicking off his fall campaign. That same morning, newspapers carried stories about Williams's testimony before a Senate subcommittee the previous day, reporting that he had taken the Fifth Amendment 23 times when asked about his personal and financial dealings with organized-crime figures. Among the mobsters with whom Williams had allegedly associated was New Orleans underworld boss Carlos Marcello, who once boasted, "We own the Teamsters," according to a tape recording made in the course of the FBI's Brilab investigation. Just a few weeks before Williams's testimony a former Mafia figure who had turned federal witness stated before a federal grand jury that Presser had told him he took his orders from James Licavoli, boss of the Cleveland underworld.

After that August 1980 meeting Reagan went on to win the election—with the support of the 1.8 million-member International Teamsters Union. And in 1981 Williams was elected President of the Teamsters. (He resigned later after being convicted of conspiring to bribe Senator Howard Cannon of Nevada in a real-estate deal.) Jackie Presser succeeded him as the seventh president of the 80-year-old union. Presser was soon being investigated by a federal grand jury in Cleveland for placing "ghost" workers on cooperative employers' payrolls and pocketing their checks; federal indictments were held up by pressure from Reagan and Attorney General William French Smith. His presidency—like those of Dave Beck, Jimmy Hoffa, Frank Fitzsimmons and Roy Williams before him—symbolizes the continuity of corruption in the Teamsters Union.

Despite all the allegations against—and the indictments and convictions of—top Teamster leaders, the love affair between the Reagan Administration and the union continues. Jimmy Carter snubbed the Teamsters for four years. But when Reagan made his first trip to Washington as President-elect, one of his first stops was the union's marble headquarters. There he attended a

closed meeting with the General Executive Board, among whose members were Presser, Williams and then-General President Frank Fitzsimmons. According to reports of the meeting, Reagan invited the Teamsters' high command to help him select his Secretary of Labor and other officials.

In mid-December 1980 Reagan and aide Edwin Meese appointed Presser a "senior economic adviser" to the transition team. An eighth-grade dropout who has never driven or loaded a truck for a living but who now makes more than \$350,000 a year as a union leader, Presser boasted that he would screen potential appointees to "the Labor Department, Treasury and a few other independent agencies." Those departments would have jurisdiction in any future investigations of the Teamsters. Not even Nixon with his long Mob ties ever dared to so openly give organized crime such veto power.

Just before Presser was appointed to the transition team, New Jersey State Police officers testified before the state's Commission of Investigations that Presser was a contact for underworld bosses seeking loans from union pension funds. Despite this and dozens of other allegations against him over the years, however, he has never been indicted.

When asked at a press conference about accusations that Presser had ties to organized crime, President-elect Reagan replied that he had not been informed of any such charges. "If that's true," he said, "that will be investigated and brought out." Later, Meese contradicted his boss, saying that Presser had been investigated prior to his appointment but that the charges of Mob connections had been found to be "mostly innuendo."

While the controversy over Presser was simmering, Reagan nominated Ray Donovan as Secretary of Labor. According to a report in the *New York Times*, Meese was told by Presser in December 1980 that the Teamsters did not support Donovan and wanted Betty Murphy, a former chairperson of the National Labor Relations Board, instead. After Meese conveyed that news to his boss, the *Times* said, Reagan called Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons for verification. When the ailing leader said that Murphy was indeed the union's choice,

Reagan decided to withdraw Donovan's nomination. No formal announcement was ever made, however, and Donovan's name went to the Senate for confirmation.

What happened? According to a Teamster official, the union's support of Murphy was a charade, and the *Times* story the result of a deliberate leak. "After the Presser thing with the transition team," said the official, "there was a need to show that Reagan wasn't just rolling over for us. . . . Donovan was our man all the way. Betty Murphy was just the smokescreen."

Given Donovan's past dealings with the Teamsters, their support of him was no surprise. During his confirmation hearings in January 1981 Donovan was accused of having made payoffs to a New York Teamster official on behalf of his Schiavone Construction Company in Secaucus, New Jersey. Donovan denied this, of course. The union official was indicted in May 1981 for shaking down Schiavone, among other companies, but he is still awaiting trial.

In December 1981 a special prosecutor was appointed by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia to investigate the charges against Donovan. His report was inconclusive, though Donovan called it a "vindication." The secretary survived a second investigation by the special prosecutor a few months later, prompted by the gangland-style slaying of two witnesses involved in the original probe—witnesses hostile to Donovan and the Mob.

Before Reagan took the oath of office, an FBI memorandum detailing Donovan's alleged associations with organized-crime figures and Teamster toughs was hand delivered to the Reagan transition team. It was addressed to Fred Fielding, Reagan's conflict-of-interest adviser, and dated January 11, 1981—the day before Donovan's confirmation hearings were to begin. The memorandum said that all the information "was corroborated by independent interviews of confidential sources." Later, FBI Director William Webster said at a press conference in Washington that he had asked Fielding: "Do you want us to do any more?" and he [Fielding] didn't think it was necessary." Whatever the true extent of Donovan's past involvement with the Teamsters, his

treatment of them as Labor Secretary raises even more questions:

In April 1981 Donovan was subpoenaed by the Senate Labor Committee for documents on the Teamsters' Central States Pension Fund, after he had refused to respond to the committee's initial request. At the time the subpoena was issued, committee chairman Orrin Hatch announced that he had "evidence that there had been some people down there [at the Labor Department] who deliberately destroy documents."

Donovan failed to act to remove Roy Williams as general president of the Teamsters after Williams refused to answer questions during a variety of official probes about his underworld ties. Donovan claimed he lacked the authority to take such action, even though in 1976 the Labor Department forced Jackie Presser's father, William, to resign as a trustee of the Central States Pension Fund. Like Williams, the elder Presser had taken the Fifth Amendment during a department inquiry. Senator Sam Nunn charged that the Secretary of Labor was trying to "protect the interests of the union hierarchy rather than the rank and file."

Since Donovan became Secretary of Labor, prosecutions of union officials have dramatically declined to 30% of what they were during the Carter Administration in a comparable time period. Last May, Senator Hatch charged: "The Labor Department has . . . chosen to follow a policy of inaction and ineptitude that increases the vulnerability of the labor rank and file to abuses by unscrupulous officials. It is a travesty upon the protection and enforcement functions the department has had delegated to it by the Congress." Ironically, Hatch is now being widely criticized for accepting campaign contributions from Presser's Ohio Teamsters, according to *Nation* magazine, the leading journal on matters of corruption and covert actions.

Despite Congressional criticism of the kid-glove treatment of the Teamsters, the President has persisted in backing the union's leaders publicly when they are in trouble. On May 21, 1981, for instance, the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee released an interim report on the Teamsters' pension funds. It described

Roy Williams as "an organized-crime mole operating at senior levels of the Teamsters Union. . . . A serious question has arisen as to whether or not Roy Lee Williams has any place in any position of trust in the labor movement." The following day Williams was indicted for attempted bribery.

Ten days later, on June 1, President Reagan addressed the delegates of the Teamsters convention in Las Vegas via videotape. Generously praising the union and its leadership, Reagan said, "I hope to be in team with the Teamsters." And then, on June 12, Reagan invited Williams along with other labor leaders to a top-level economic conference at the White House.

As summed up by *Nation*: "The love affair between the Administration and the Teamsters Union continues, only now Reagan's onetime appointee, Jackie Presser, will be reciprocating the President's soft touch and gentle care."

The air-traffic controllers' union also supported Reagan for President, but he didn't hesitate to destroy them when they went on strike (after Reagan betrayed his campaign promise of increased air safety). Yet the President stands by the few crime-controlled unions just as he did in the 1950s and again in the 1960s when such unions were instruments of the Blacklist and, later, Reagan's and the grape growers' attempts to destroy Cesar Chavez and the farm workers.

Reagan is tied to other crime interests through his closest friend and campaign manager, Senator Paul Laxalt. Consider the June 20, 1983, story in the *Wall Street Journal*.

Laxalt has been found to be an intimate business associate of such notorious crime chiefs as Morris "Moe" Dalitz, Meyer Lansky and Allen Dorfman.

Aside from his personal associations, Laxalt's tax returns show that he legally avoided paying federal income taxes for six years, from 1970 through 1975. He used as a tax shelter a multimillion-dollar hotel-casino that he built with favorable bank loans. His own cash investment totaled \$938.

The *Journal* goes on to document further criminal associations. For example, another longtime Laxalt

friend is Charles Baron, a Las Vegas casino employee. Federal agents and Nevada law-enforcement files say Baron was an associate of many alleged underworld figures, including Dalitz and Meyer Lansky. Lansky was considered to be the financial genius of organized crime before his death.

Baron, who Senator Laxalt says has "a marvelously good military record," contributed \$2,000 to the Senator's 1980 campaign. "But Mr. Baron recalls, in an interview," that some of the money may have come from his friends. Federal laws prohibit contributors from masking the donations of others.

Major Laxalt contributors have included the late Sydney Wyman, who was under federal indictment in Las Vegas on illegal bookmaking charges when he died in 1978; casino owners Allen D. Sachs and Herbert Tobman, described in an FBI affidavit filed in a federal court in Las Vegas as "figureheads for the Chicago La Cosa Nostra and responsible for providing skim monies to the Mob from their casinos"; two former casino owners alleged in FBI affidavits to have been fronts for hidden Mob interests; two convicted tax evaders; and several casino executives identified by law-enforcement agents as associates of organized-crime figures—these are the friends of Reagan's "closest friend," Paul Laxalt.

Senator Laxalt, who is the chairman of a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee that drafts criminal laws, says the contributions haven't affected "my judgments in any way."

The *Journal* reveals that, "in 1971, after a conversation with [gangster Allen] Dorfman, Mr. Laxalt wrote President Nixon and urged him to release imprisoned former Teamsters President Jimmy Hoffa. In the letter he tells how he, Mr. Laxalt, had 'worked closely' with Al Dorfman, who wasn't the criminal type so often depicted by the national press."

Senator Laxalt says now that he "scarcely knew" Mr. Dorfman. He says they became acquainted when he was governor "because of the Teamsters' heavy involvement in Nevada casino development."

Finally, Laxalt has borrowed more than \$7 million

through his underworld contacts. Laxalt's banker was Delbert W. Coleman. The *Journal* reports: "Mr. Coleman resigned as chairman of a company that owned three Las Vegas hotel-casinos after the Securities and Exchange Commission sued him for stock manipulation in October 1969. His resignation was part of the settlement." Another defendant was Sidney R. Korshak, a close Coleman associate and labor lawyer who has been described by law-enforcement agents as the "key link" between organized crime and Big Business.

No one in any previous Presidential inner circle has ever been this close to the dark center of organized crime. Ronald Reagan's closest friend and adviser is totally compromised. Does Reagan know? Of course, just as he had to have known about the "October Surprise" operation, the "Garden Plot" before that and the Blacklist all those years ago. Not only does Reagan know, but he is militant in his embrace of extremism whether, as we shall see, it is the paramilitary Western Goals apparatus of the John Birch Society, or organized crime, or neo-fascist foreign elements in Latin America and elsewhere.

* * *

I joined the Christian, or as some call it, the Campbellite Church, as a mere boy, not yet dry behind the ears. But I wished then and I wish now that it were possible for me to belong to the whole glorious brotherhood; to be one in Communion at the same time with the brave Presbyterians that fight the pusillanimous, mendacious, destructive, tomfool Higher Critics, so-called; and with the Methodists who so strongly oppose war yet in wartime can always be counted upon for patriotism to the limit; and with the splendidly tolerant Baptists, the earnest Seventh-Day Adventists, and I guess I could even say a kind word for the Unitarians, as that great executive William Howard Taft belonged to them, also his wife.

—"The Speech" from *It Can't Happen Here*,
by Sinclair Lewis

If my father was Catholic, my mother was Protestant. If he rebelled against the universe, she was a natural practical do-gooder. If he was Irish, she was Scots-English. If he was occasionally vulgar, she tried to raise the tone of the family.

—"The Speech" from *Where's the Rest of Me?*,
by Ronald Reagan

To conclude even a partial study of the Reagan regime's secret prologue up to November 1980, it is necessary to look at his most closely guarded hidden agendas for foreign and domestic policy.

FOREIGN POLICY: Reagan's plan for America was simple: "security" to replace "human rights" as the first priority. Something called the South Atlantic Treaty Organization (SATO) would guarantee a new Pax Americana in the Third World.

SATO had two clandestine ambassadors: General Daniel Graham, former head of Air Force Intelligence, and General Vernon Walters, former deputy director of the CIA. These two spy generals were dispatched to organize—under the rubric of "anti-communism"—extremist and fascist regimes in Central and South America and in central and southern Africa. SATO was to be a fascist alliance covered over with such Reaganisms as: "Democracies," "Anti-Communists," "Freedom Fighters," "Christian Free World Nations," etc.

Graham has been accused by CBS of falsifying enemy numbers in Vietnam in order to deceive President Johnson and American public opinion. He denies this, claiming that he is the victim of Communist disinformation. It is Graham who fronts for the extreme right-wing think tank calling itself High Frontier, which spins off from the Heritage Foundation network. It calls for space war to destroy the Soviets. This theme is the one that the arch-propagandist of the Chilean, British and American Right—Robert Moss—shoved into a war novel called *Death Ray*.

In the course of his work on behalf of the Right, Graham met with secret-police officials in a number of Latin American dictatorships and with the South Africans. (South Africa intelligence pumped money into the Reagan campaign through the anti-abortion, anti-ERA single-issue coalitions.) While Graham was going south, Ray Cline—one of the famous Cold War spymasters—was meeting with extremists, including the World Anti-Communist League in Taiwan. Cline, like Graham, was telling them, off the record, that a Reagan Presidency would be a green light for "militant anti-Communist, anti-terrorist security"—meaning torture, atrocities, dis-

appearances, silence.

Both Cline and Graham orbited around a Reagan mystery man—General Vernon Walters—a name even more sinister than the others in the long list of super-agents running the campaign—a list including Allen, Casey, Cline, Clark, Graham, Hugel, the Bush ex-CIA team and the Association of Former Intelligence Officers.

A brief chronology of Walters's secret service tells us who he is—and is not.

- Nixon's liaison to covert actions in Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1950s.
- Involved in illegal CIA coups in Iran, Guatemala, Brazil and Chile in the 1950s, '60s and '70s.
- Attempted to obstruct the FBI's Watergate investigation while deputy director of the CIA.

As Reagan drew ever nearer to power, Walters conducted an almost-frenzied round of private meetings with "strongmen" from Guatemala to the tip of Latin America, in Chile, passing the word that the championing of human rights had ended with the Carter Administration. Like Richard Allen and William Casey, Walters had been drafted into the Reagan campaign, along with General Graham and Dr. Cline, to help forge a network of senior covert operators from the far-flung corners of the Cold War. Walters was a key because it was he who had the contacts with the secret-police chiefs of the SATO countries.

Jeff Stein, writing in the *Boston Globe*, levels a devastating charge at Walters. The case in point is the murder in Washington, D.C., of Orlando Letelier, a cabinet minister in the Allende government of Chile (which Walters had conspired to overthrow while with the CIA).

"Assassination on Embassy Row," an investigative account coauthored by *Washington Post* correspondent John Dinges and Saul Landau, a colleague of Letelier's at the Institute for Policy Studies, was published in 1980. The U.S. prosecutor in charge of the case, Eugene Propper, assisted by Washington author Taylor Branch, published his own account, *Labyrinth*.

From these and additional interviews with key officials, it can be concluded that Vernon Walters was well informed that a major Chilean secret-police operation in the United States was

being planned and that Walters never came forward to offer his knowledge to federal prosecutors. It's not difficult to understand why: He had a close relationship with the head of the Chilean secret police who planned the Letelier hit, Colonel Manuel Contreras, and had met with him in Washington in the days just before the assassination.

On October 15, 1976, the State Department's Chile desk officer, Robert Driscoll, wrote a memo to John Keane, head of the American Republic Affairs Section. "The General Walters connection may or may not be important," Driscoll wrote. "Besides Alfonso Stroessner, Col. Manuel Contreras considers himself a bosom buddy of the General, I think the FBI should know. The General is an old hand."

This is the man who would run Reagan's secret diplomacy before and after the election. The *Globe* cites Walters's "back-channel" relations with such "Free World allies" as Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, South Africa and Zaire. "He is an example of the importance this Administration puts on getting along with military dictatorships," says U.S. Navy Admiral (Ret.) Gene LaRocque, head of a Washington defense-research institute.

In summary, then, before Ronald Reagan debated Jimmy Carter, much less won the Presidency, he had committed himself to a worldwide policy of collaboration with dictators and fascists in Latin America and Africa, including a policy created and carried out by a group of "ambassadors" who were in fact a ring of ultra hawks from the "blackest" recesses of Cold War covert action. In Guatemala, Reagan's emissaries worked closely with the American Security Council's program of liaison with the death squads. In El Salvador, for example, the Reagan contact was with the notorious Robert d'Aubisson, the murderer of Archbishop Romero and chief of the death squads (according to Ambassador Robert White).

This was the foreign face of Ronald Reagan. This is "the animal crashing about in the forest" that Senator Baker said he could hear when his committee tried to probe the illegal activity of the intelligence establishment "rogues" in 1974 and 1975—the same rogues who would sign on to the Reagan campaign in order to dismantle the "post-Watergate morality," as they liked to

call civilian Constitutional controls.

At the same time the candidate had embraced a massive secret *domestic* scheme designed to bring him to power.

* * *

The real trouble with the Jews is that they are cruel. Anybody with a knowledge of history knows how they tortured poor debtors in secret catacombs all through the Middle Ages. Whereas the Nordic is distinguished by his gentleness and his kindheartedness to friends, children, dogs, and people of inferior races.

—"The Speech" from *It Can't Happen Here*,
by Sinclair Lewis

I agree with J. Edgar Hoover that the John Birch Society contains fine people, needed in the fight against communism.

—"The Speech" from *Where's the Rest of Me?*,
by Ronald Reagan

* * *

The John Birch Society went public in 1958, but Ronald Reagan had been working with its leading lights for nearly a decade. Many of the late JBS notables and fellow travelers had come from the stable of Reagan's first mentor, Patrick Frawley. Veteran propagandists such as Phyllis Schlafly, John Rousselot and John Schmitz—to name just three—would return to haunt Reagan's 1980 bid for the Presidency. By 1980, however, it was a much more sophisticated, widely organized JBS that reached out for Reagan. By 1980 the JBS had its own super-secret, computerized intelligence agency—Western Goals.

To those on the Far Right the word *Western* in the title connotes a white, Christian, anti-humanist dream for America—an America purged of the "demagogic weapon and perennial swindle of democracy," to use JBS founder Robert Welch's analysis of our system. By 1980 the extreme right wing of the JBS had seized control of the society and set up Western Goals.

The return and the reincarnation of the JBS as a national force can be credited to Congressman Larry Mc-

Donald of Georgia and a British cloak-and-dagger type named John Rees. These two—with huge infusions of money with which to computerize—have left the old Robert Welch JBS far behind.

Rees first worked with Reagan during the days of student unrest. According to Seth Rosenfeld's incisive 1983 study of Rees in the *Village Voice*, it is Rees who fed Reagan his "Soviet spys in the peace movement—especially in New York" routine after 1980. Rees claims to have set up an informer network for Reagan in the 1960s and to have worked with him since.

Documents released under the Freedom of Information Act, and recently produced in a National Lawyers Guild lawsuit charging unconstitutional government surveillance, prove that Rees made informing on political groups "a profession." Moreover, a 1968 FBI memo concludes: "Rees is an unscrupulous, unethical individual. . . . Information from him cannot be considered reliable."

Reagan relies on Rees's *Information Digest* for much of his "intelligence" and his paranoid style. Nancy Reagan is a personal friend of Rees, and according to the late Alfred Bloomingdale, the two worked up any number of horoscope charts.

First and foremost, John Rees is the editor of the Western Goals Foundation.

Western Goals was founded in 1979 by Larry McDonald in Alexandria, Virginia, to "rebuild and strengthen the political, economic and social structure of the U.S. and Western civilization so as to make any merger with totalitarians impossible." To this end, Rees produced foundation tracts, such as "The War Called Peace—The Soviet Peace Offensive," and oversaw the computerization of what McDonald claimed were 100 file cabinets of data on "terrorism and subversion."

In an outgrowth of an ACLU lawsuit charging Los Angeles police with improper intelligence activity, the department recently investigated whether one of its detectives improperly supplied confidential police files to Western Goals. According to *Stern* magazine, staff members of the German-based "Western Goals Europe" have been linked to the Central Intelligence Agency and its

German equivalent, the BND.

According to the *Voice*, Rees works closely with Robert Moss of the Heritage Group, as well as with Accuracy in Media, an apparatus linked to right-wing intelligence sources, and, of course, the *Readers' Digest*; this is the data base for the "Spies in the Freeze Movement" scenario that Reagan never fails to mention when defending his massive arms escalation.

In its authoritative study the *Voice* relates how the FBI first took note of Rees in the early 1960s in his native England, where he worked in a minor business position for the London *Daily Mirror*. According to an FBI memo released under the Freedom of Information Act, Rees misused his personal accounts and was fired by the *Mirror*. Agents in the FBI office at the London U.S. Embassy discovered that during 1962 Rees had been "keeping the company" of a Bureau stenographer.

"Rees's background and the fact that he was married and had five children were confidentially furnished to this stenographer, who was visibly shaken by this news inasmuch as she had planned to marry Rees," the memo notes. Humiliated, the secretary resigned from the FBI.

Leaving his family behind, Rees came to America in 1963 to take a reporting job, which eventually fell through. But when Rees was introduced that fall to Grace Metalious, author of *Peyton Place*, he presented himself as a writer for a Boston daily and talked her into letting him do a profile of her. Metalious had been "ruined by her own success," writes Emily Toth in *Inside Peyton Place*. She was recently divorced, isolated and a chronic alcoholic.

The promised profile never appeared. But Rees soon became Metalious's lover and business manager, and by December he had moved into her Gilmanton, New Hampshire, estate. According to Toth's book, Rees often kept family and friends away from her as Metalious sank deeper into alcoholism. On a rare visit, Metalious's daughter Marsha found the house strewn with garbage and empty liquor bottles.

During a trip to Boston shortly thereafter, Metalious collapsed, and on February 24, 1964, died of cirrho-

sis of the liver and massive cerebral hemorrhaging. Her deathbed will left her entire estate to Rees and nothing to her three children. She had known Rees less than six months. After the will was contested on behalf of the children, Rees relinquished his claim for what he called moral reasons. The FBI reached a different conclusion: "Rees subsequently renounced all claim to the estate when it was determined that the liabilities exceeded the assets."

By 1968 Rees had relocated in riot-stricken Newark, New Jersey, where he worked as a research director in a Great Society job-training program until he was forced to resign. Auditors discovered that while collecting his federal pay, Rees was often out of town for his own company, National Goals Inc., a "nonprofit organization specializing in areas of education, training and law enforcement."

In a plan submitted to the U.S. Justice Department, National Goals proposed the creation of "community peace patrols" to quell "the summer months and threats of violence and disorder." Rees wanted to use federal funds to equip Anthony Imperiale's North Ward Citizens Committee (a white-militant group) and Kamiel Wadud's United Brothers of Newark (a black-militant group) with uniforms, helmets, walkie-talkies, tape recorders, cameras, patrol cars, four offices and two warehouses. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and New Jersey Governor Richard Hughes denounced the proposal as a vigilante scheme.

By 1969 Rees had established a close link to Ronald Reagan. His National Goals Inc. had allied itself to Reagan's covert alma mater, the American Security Council (ASC). Working at a furious pace, Rees reached the top of the New Right ladder by 1975, when the Honorable Larry McDonald provided him with official Congressional cover. Both McDonald and Rees proceeded to devote themselves to Reagan's 1976 bid for the GOP nomination.

Frank Donner in his award-winning study *The Age of Surveillance* reports that McDonald himself, while inveighing against the violent proclivities of his targets, was discovered (after a six-month investigation by the

Atlanta Constitution) to have collected a hidden cache of as many as 200 high-powered weapons transferred to him at his request by dying patients, many of them cancer victims under Laetrile treatment (the John Birch Society's cancer drug of choice).

In Congress he had been a prime mover in a variety of rightist projects, ranging from a drive to remove then-U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young to a successful campaign blocking the confirmation of White House nominee Theodore Sorensen for the post of CIA chief, to reviving HUAC. McDonald also served as "secretary of defense" in a "citizens cabinet" sponsored by the Conservative Caucus, one of the constellations of right-wing political-action organizations that came to life in the mid-'70s.

As Governor Reagan had relied on Jerome Ducote in his war against Cesar Chavez and the dissident youth movement in California, after 1975 candidate Reagan gave his ear to John Rees and the JBS network under Larry McDonald: common criminals and provocateurs for hire.

By Election Day 1980 the Reagan campaign was a creature of the Casey-Allen "October Surprise" ring, the Heritage Foundation propaganda front and the Western Goals "domestic security" computer network. Groups, fronts, personalities—all dedicated to covert actions and extremist ideologies masked by the euphemism of "anti-communism."

* * *

I have no desire to be President. I would much rather do my humble best as a supporter of Bishop Prang, Ted Bilbo, Gene Talmadge or any other broad-gauged but peppy liberal. My only longing is to serve.

—"The Speech" from *It Can't Happen Here*,
by Sinclair Lewis

For me, I think that service is to continue accepting speaking engagements, in an effort to make people aware of the danger to freedom in a vast permanent government structure so big and complex it virtually entraps Presidents and legislators. Being an actor, I have access to audiences which might be denied an officeholder or candidate. There is no point in saving souls

in heaven; if my speaking is to serve any purpose, then I must appear before listeners who don't share my viewpoint.

—"The Speech" from *Where's the Rest of Me?*,
by Ronald Reagan

As Election Day 1980 approached, Reagan's appetite for intrigue became voracious. As his "agent handler" Richard Allen had plotted covert politics in Portugal, so now Reagan men working for the Casey-Allen ring met secretly with Spanish fascists who feared a Socialist government's coming to power. (The Spanish connection was the Buckley brothers, James and Bill.) United Press International, looking back on October 1980, reported that a Spanish newspaper, escaping a ban on publication, said the United States and the Vatican were contacted by military conspirators before their attempt to overthrow the democratic government.

The *Daily Diario* said General Alfonso Armada, appointed deputy chief of staff shortly before the coup and now accused along with two other generals and some 30 officers of military rebellion, "sounded out" both the United States and the Vatican before the coup attempt.

Reports that right-wing politicians backing the military plotters approached members of the current Reagan Administration (in November of 1980) were rife in Spain. The reports gained ground when Secretary of State Alexander Haig said in an off-the-cuff comment on the night of the coup attempt that it was an "internal affair."

The Spanish "back-channel" was being set up at the same time that Walters, Graham and Cline were laying the plans for SATO, and Casey was running the "October Surprise." These "ops," plus the strident public propaganda of the Moral Majority (directed from the Heritage Foundation) and Western Goals (controlled by the John Birch Society), constituted the soul of what Reagan continued to call "The Creative Society."

The hawks and the extremists had their own President at last. The Republican Center was paralyzed; they saw what was coming. As 1981 began, fear of the new regime began to leak. *Time* magazine pointed out that from Ronald Reagan's first day on the job, photographs

and clandestine reports flowed across his desk every morning, convincing him that a revolution in the Caribbean has been "coaxed and fed by Moscow and Havana. The CIA gave the world a glimpse of that evidence last week. But documentation of a big military buildup in Nicaragua is only one fragment of the indoctrination the President has received in superpower chess."

Time warned:

Reagan has been tutored day after day by his experts that the Soviets are in a "historic decline" and a "systemic failure" that renders them, despite their power, more unpredictable and dangerous than ever. From all of this, and much more, he has concluded that we have entered two of the most perilous years of modern times and that in this period it is imperative for the U.S. to stay strong.

This conviction explains why the President seems shrill about Central America and sometimes nearly fanatical in his refusal to cut defense spending. He believes that America's—and his—credibility, with both adversaries and friends, lies in the extra billions. Those dollars instantly translate in Reagan's mind into helicopters and guns, then into confidence and courage, and ultimately into *victory* for our side.

The danger—and it is a serious danger—is that the President may be a prisoner of his preconceptions, and that the selectively chosen evidence being shown him could simply reinforce his entrenched ideology in illusory solutions. . . .

Pennsylvania's GOP Congressman Milton Marks quit the House of Representatives, calling Reaganomics "a massacre" and a "murderous mandate." There would be other dramatic defections, but it was too late to undo the work of the psychological warfare waged by the Reagan campaign from 1976 through 1980. Representative Marks's words would echo down the entire first term: "Millions of people are marching, opposed to our policies. . . . Reagan says it's all a Communist plot. My God, did the McCarthy era teach us nothing?"

The *New York Times* was uneasy as well. Days after the election William Safire wrote in that paper that:

to keep from compounding the Inaugural blunder of an official association with Frank Sinatra, Attorney General William French Smith should pass the word to Rancho Mirage that the singer would be wiser not to use the President's name as a Las Vegas gambling reference.

Safire didn't inform the *Times*' readers that Reagan had been closely associated with organized-crime figures and unions ever since Johnny Rosselli in the SAG days through the war against Cesar Chavez in the 1960s—and had made them into cogs in his election machine.

Casey's agents from the campaign spying began to filter south to help crank up the secret war to overthrow the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua; the first shot in this massive covert action was to set up illegal training bases in Florida and California—Florida because Cuban exiles close to the CIA were deeply involved, and California because the Los Angeles Police Department's Anti-Terror Unit was deeply compromised and penetrated by the paramilitary wing of the John Birch Society, Western Goals.

As for General Walters, his assignment was to coordinate the Vatican's role in Reagan's Central American master plan. This plan would reach its high point in 1983. Walters, who had been in on the training of the illegal army of Nicaraguan and Cuban extremists from the beginning, convinced the Pope to provoke the Sandinista government. In March 1983 John Paul II visited Nicaragua during an eight-day swing through Central America. Before a large audience in Managua he attacked the "People's Church" as "absurd and dangerous," implying that the only role the Church had in Nicaragua was to oppose the Sandinistas. Such an outspoken repudiation of liberation theology, delivered in the only Latin American country that can claim a revolution with significant Catholic participation, was very well received within the CIA.

The Nicaraguan revolution coincided with a dramatic increase in border raids from Honduras by CIA-trained exile groups. But perhaps more damaging than the military actions was the psychological impact of the Pope's refusing to pray for the souls of Nicaraguans killed by Somozistas, despite the pleadings of wives and mothers who wept openly before him. And injury was later added to injury when the Pope did pray for six "suspected subversives" who had been executed by Guatemala's evangelical dictator Efraim Rios Montt. Whether or not it was his intention, John Paul II had in effect giv-

en his blessings to the CIA's campaign to destabilize the Sandinista government.

Marty Lee, in a much praised study of the politics of the Vatican, has summarized the dilemma of the Church and a Pope who has attempted to walk a fine line, acknowledging the need for social reform while expressing disdain for the grass-roots movements that also advocate it. "He cannot embrace progressive Catholic organizations, because they threaten to undermine Papal authority," writes Lee. "The mixed signals John Paul II has been sending his bishops in Latin America (where more than half the world's Catholics will reside by the year 2000) are evidence of the dilemma he faces. To the extent that he denounces injustice and oppression, he risks the wrath of the CIA. But if he fails to be a sufficient critic of fascist governments that kill priests and nuns, many of his followers will seek other roads to salvation.

"And John Paul II's dilemma promises to get worse before it gets better. Despite the best efforts of the CIA, liberation theology is spreading to countries such as Thailand, South Korea and the Philippines, where activist priests are also being persecuted by U.S.-backed dictatorships."

While Walters and the Buckley brothers led the fight against "Catholic activists" (Jeanne Kirkpatrick's label for the four religious women raped and hacked to death by the military of El Salvador), the Casey network made its move to restore "potency to covert action."

Former spies went after critics. Lawsuits were brought against: (a) the makers of the film *Missing*, which dramatized CIA and Defense Department involvement in the Chilean *putsch* against the constitutional Allende government; (b) a book, *Death in Washington*, exposing the American connection to the murder of the Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier; (c) magazines and publishers linking major crimes, including the assassination of President Kennedy, to extremist elements of the American secret police.

Commenting on one of these cases, Jack Anderson wrote in the *Washington Post* that:

the Central Intelligence Agency has always played by its own rules. Nowhere has this been more evident than in the spy agency's guerrilla war with those who write about CIA deeds and misdeeds. Now a federal judge has given the CIA and its agents a veritable nuclear bomb to drop on anyone who has the temerity to criticize them. Here's the appalling story.

David Atlee Phillips is a litigious former spook who was accused by author Donald Freed of trying to cover up the CIA's alleged advance knowledge of plans to assassinate Chilean exile leader Orlando Letelier. . . . The CIA has backed Phillips all the way. The agency even sent a lawyer and a classification expert to Phillips's deposition to make sure he didn't answer any questions that would embarrass the agency. They hauled out the Watergate-tarnished shield of "national security"—and U.S. District Judge Thomas Jackson bought their arguments. He ruled that Phillips didn't have to answer questions about his CIA work, even though that's what the libel suit is all about. . . .

The Association of Former Intelligence Officers and its constellation of related rightist organizations lobbied incessantly and successfully for a range of secrecy regulations that, taken together, amount to the American equivalent of an "Official Secrets Act." Such vulgar gestures as forcing hundreds of bureaucrats to submit to lie-detector tests were not nearly as threatening as a Reagan directive which the public knew nothing about, covering SCI—"Sensitive Compartmental Information." This secret document is a "directive on safeguarding national security information," requiring officials with access to highly classified information to agree to clear future writings with the government before publication, not only while they are in office but for the rest of their lives. In short, news organizations can no longer hire former officials.

Hodding Carter, the former State Department spokesman, put it this way: Foreign affairs is an area in which "there is hardly anything you say to a reporter that isn't developed from classified material—because they classify everything but the toilet paper." Carter also pointed out that officials by no means always tell reporters that information they have provided is classified.

While this and other fanatical attempts to "stop leaks" were being planned in secret, the Administration itself set out to leak a series of disinformation horror stories. These official leaks reached flood proportions by midterm; they included Cuba, Libya, Grenada, Jamaica and Surinam. In each case the leak was the same: Soviet or Cuban forces behind "totalitarian" subversion. In each case the United States itself was deeply involved in covert actions to destabilize the governments of these countries.

Besides all this, there was political soap opera played about Soviet germ warfare (the evidence for which turned out to be insect droppings), a Libya hit team chasing Reagan (it disappeared without a trace), a series of bogus "White Papers" and defectors from Central America (exposed almost at once by such papers of record as the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times*).

Thus, the first year of the regime was devoted largely to the initiating of secret wars and psychological-warfare scenarios and to the censoring of critical voices through official and unofficial pressure. This intrigue reached such hidden proportions by 1982 that, as we shall see, the Administration began to lose its hold on events.

* * *

An honest propagandist for any cause—that is, one who honestly studies and figures out the most effective way of putting over his message—will learn fairly early that it is not fair to ordinary folks—it just confuses them—to try to make them swallow all the true facts that would be suitable to a higher class of people. And one seemingly small but almighty important point he learns, if he does much speechifying, is that you can win over folks to your point of view much better in the evening, when they are tired out from work and not so likely to resist you, than at any other time of day.

—"The Speech" from *It Can't Happen Here*,
by Sinclair Lewis

Now I had become a semi-automaton "creating" a character another had written, doing what still another person told me to do on the set. Seeing the rushes, I could barely believe the colored shadow on the screen was myself.

—"The Speech" from *Where's the Rest of Me?*,
by Ronald Reagan

The Reagan "honeymoon" with most of the press continued through 1981 and 1982. There were, however, a few disturbing notes surfacing here and there. For instance, California State Senator John Schmitz, a longtime Birch Society supporter, was featured in the *Los Angeles Times* to the following effect:

If President Reagan's foreign and domestic programs fail, the nation will be "in real bad shape," says State Sen. John Schmitz (R-Newport Beach), "and the best we could probably hope for is a military coup or something like that. . . .

"If Ronald Reagan, who is a master of the media in presenting his case before the people, if he can't do it by selling his program now, then we're in real bad shape.

"The best we could probably hope for is a military coup." . . . Then, his voice rising, Schmitz added that "what you've got is political terrorism going on. You've got the Anti-Defamation League terrorizing the rest of the Jewish community, and you've got the Jewish community terrorizing everybody else." . . .

Schmitz confirms that one of his current projects in the Marine Corps Reserve is to prepare "war game" materials for a classified program in the service.

"I'm not sure what I'm at liberty to say," Schmitz comments when asked who "the enemy" is in the war-games planning.

The name of his Marine Corps unit is "the volunteer mobilization training unit." . . .

Schmitz recently was elected to the board of directors of the Senator Joseph R. McCarthy Foundation Inc., a Wisconsin-based group dedicated to, among other things, providing "the truth about Senator McCarthy." . . .

"I have a clear conscience," he says. "I sleep as well as anyone."

When will conditions reach the military coup probability stage?

"Definitely by 1986. Probably before the end of Reagan's term (in January 1985)."

Schmitz and all the others of his ilk in the Old and New Right were watching Reagan carefully as he began his term by pardoning high FBI officials convicted of a range of illegal unconstitutional actions against dissidents in the 1960s and 1970s. Reagan said of them, as he had of those indicted and convicted in the Watergate affair, "They are not criminals at heart. They are patriots."

The Right was also pleased to see members of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers assume high places in the Executive branch, Department of State and Congressional intelligence-oversight committees. The stage was being set by the Reagan forces for its attack on the entire Freedom of Information Act. Another high priority was the Intelligence Identities and Protection Act. This naming-of-agents act cut deeply into First Amendment and press tradition and guarantees.

Tied to a host of such free-speech controls planned by Reagan was his "executive order on intelligence," signed in 1981.

This executive order stunned civil libertarians. At one stroke the act reconstituted the most dangerous elements of the FBI's dreaded COINTELPRO program of the 1960s and '70s and the CIA's "Operation Chaos"—except that now the break-ins, buggings and provocations would be legal. The CIA, for the first time, would be empowered to spy on Americans at home. This was too much for Casey's deputy at the CIA, Admiral Inman, and he quit.

The Administration had the momentum: pardoning the FBI officials convicted of violating the Constitutional rights of political activists, and unleashing the FBI and CIA as never before. This momentum spurred

rightists in Congress to start up hearings modeled on the old discredited HUAC circus of the 1950s, in which Ronald Reagan had starred. More media hackles began to rise. Historian Eve Pell describes how columnist Jack Anderson, saying he had seen top-secret documents to back up his allegations, claimed that CIA Director Casey was eager to get his agency back into covert operations abroad by using foreign agents of anti-Communist regimes to do the actual dirty tricks. Under this plan, South African or Israeli or South Korean operatives, for example, would execute such plots as the assassination of Libyan leader Muammar Kaddafi by using poison darts made up to resemble black flies.

The censorship of intelligence seemed to be one more stop on the road map laid out for the Reagan Administration by a Heritage Foundation report; the naming-of-agents act was another. For the first time in 200 years of American history it became illegal for a private citizen to repeat information that is not classified.

Novelist Sol Yurick speculated before a Senate committee about his fear of naming names:

While there is no provision in the Constitution for freedom of the imagination, surely this law would force prior restraint not only on my speech but on my imagination. Are we generating a force somewhat similar to the organization the Japanese had before World War II, the *Kempita*, also known as the Thought Police? Are we generating conditions similar to those found in the Soviet Union?

In response, Senator John Chafee (R-Rhode Island) spoke these chilling words: "They say my bill will inhibit the press, and that's true. . . . But the press accepts prohibitions in wartime. . . . I don't want to equate this situation with war, but intelligence is a dangerous business."

Professor Philip Kurland, a Constitutional expert at the University of Chicago, concluded that the measure was "the clearest violation of the First Amendment attempted by Congress in this era."

Historian Pell cites the telling testimony of John

Stockwell, a CIA agent for 13 years who conducted covert operations on four continents. He ultimately turned against his former employer because he thought it disgraced America with its "long and continuing record of arrogance, incompetence, cruelty and irresponsible activities."

In a vain attempt to stop the law Stockwell testified before the Senate Intelligence Committee on the legislation. He said that "the objective of this bill is clearly not to protect the safety of secret agents, as its proponents claim, because the CIA itself is flagrantly careless of the identities of its own agents." The real purpose of the bill, he continued, is "to gain an important weapon for the CIA to use in silencing its critics." He explained what he meant to the senators present: "I was a clandestine case officer. . . . I lived undercover." After the bill passed, Stockwell wrote mournfully that it "inaugurated a new era in which the rights of our secret police supersede those of the people."

In early 1981 most of the moderate and liberal Center believed that Reagan would prove to be a pragmatist after all. Haig, Bush, Weinberger, et al. from the business community or the Rockefeller wing of the party would hold Reagan's cowboys in check. Then the *Los Angeles Times* quoted Bush to the effect that a nuclear war "can be won." In response, Bush snarled that he had been misquoted by a "left-wing columnist," but the bell could not be unrung, especially when it became known that Herman Kahn had been made an adviser to the Administration. Kahn's book *On Thermonuclear War* had laid down the concept of fighting and winning a nuclear holocaust back in 1960. Besides, the *Times* had Bush on tape.

Still, the conventional wisdom argued that Washington would push and pull Reagan into traditional shape after all. The pundits pontificated that Presidents come and go but the Establishment stays the same. Jimmy Carter had found that out and Dick Nixon before him; now it was Reagan's turn. It made sense, given Reagan's genial style—except that Reagan had a secret plan for 1984—Grenada, Lebanon, Nicaragua—just as he had one for 1980.

* * *

Like beefsteak and potatoes stick to your ribs even if you're working your head off, so the words of the Good Book stick by you in perplexity and tribulation. If I ever held a high position over my people, I hope that my ministers would be quoting, from Kings 18, 31 & 32: "Come out to me, and then eat ye every man of his own vine, and every one of his fig trees, and drink ye every one the waters of his cistern, until I come and take you away to a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of olive oil and honey, that ye may live and not die."

—"The Speech" from *It Can't Happen Here*,
by Sinclair Lewis

It is not warmongering to say that some things are worth dying for. If this be not so—then write off the martyrs as fools. Christ should have refused the Cross, and before Him, Moses should have told the children of Israel slavery was better than risking death in the wilderness. Certainly those men at Concord Bridge should have pretended they were just out on a squirrel hunt, and no one should have lifted a hand against Hitler—or does that last stick in the liberal craw?

—"The Speech" from *Where's the Rest of Me?*,
by Ronald Reagan

* * *

To a thunderous ovation, Nancy and Ronnie walked down onto the stage. Few performers in America could work an audience as well as Carson, Hope or Sinatra, but Ronnie held the audience better than any of them. As he thanked the entertainers, he missed not a beat. Then he turned to another matter.

"I'm going to say something that I've dreamed of saying to an audience like this sometime, in the presence of these wonderful people. If it is true that when the curtain goes up on eternity, all men must approach the gates bearing in their arms that which they have given to life, the people of show business will march in the procession carrying in their arms the pure pearl of tears, the gold of laughter and the diamonds of stardust they spill on what otherwise might have been a rather dreary world. And when at last all reach the final stage, I'm sure the keeper will say, 'Let my children in.' God bless you."

* * *

In point of fact, Reagan had made that speech in 1950 at the Friars Club in Beverly Hills. The audience had been filled with the gangster friends of Johnny Rosselli and other dedicated "anti-Communists," all gathered to honor the president of the Screen Actors Guild for being "a great American." Organized crime is, of course, a believer in primitive capitalism. ("I am an anti-Communist"—Al Capone.) It's not surprising that the Mob would align itself with the most corrupt and violent elements of the Central Intelligence Agency or the labor movement or the friends of Ronald Reagan. Reagan would solidify his crime contacts after the inauguration.

The first priority, however, was the image problem. Since the nation cannot tolerate a blatantly simpleminded figurehead, the myth must emerge that, in private, Reagan is deep. Should his lack of real friendships be noticed, people will remark that he has a close, all-embracing family life with his wife, Nancy. Since Reagan would be certain to start with dramatic flourishes—a freeze on federal hiring, a call to rearmament, a challenge to Congress to slash taxes—his complete delegation of tasks will be seen as a sign of strength.

The bitter, reckless men around Reagan know that their "honeymoon" with the American people will be all too brief. If they are going to take command of the economy ("get the government off your back") and make potent again our national security ("throw billions" at the Pentagon), they will have to move swiftly and secretly.

As he did in California, Reagan will enlist hundreds of corporate chief executives to join dozens of different advisory boards in order to study the federal bureaucracy. The California Committee's findings ("You've got some good people working for you, Ron, but they have to be more efficient") will consume thousands of hours, be filed in subcellars throughout Washington and justify slashing aid to the poor.

As part of "welfare reform" Reagan will conspicu-

ously push his pet, "Workfare." But as happened in California, Reagan will lose interest in the program once it's out of the news. Neither he nor the states administering it will appropriate money for hammers, shovels and so on to employ the people he wants to put to work. Publicly the plan calls for getting the "government off our backs." Privately, Reagan prepares to unleash the secret government *on* the public.

There had been a mass movement of retired intelligence officers to the Reagan camp as a result of Carter's downgrading of the CIA and FBI and upgrading of human-rights issues. Reagan's victory opened up new vistas for them, with many moving into the White House and State Department while others took over key posts in Congress.

Among the architects of the Senate hearings on terrorism were a former FBI agent who took over as the subcommittee's chief counsel and an author of the Heritage Foundation report, who joined the staff of Senator John East (R-North Carolina), a member of the subcommittee. Vernon Walters, the former deputy director of the CIA, surfaced again in April as a close aide to Alexander Haig.

Meanwhile, a task force of intelligence experts from the CIA, FBI and Defense Department began meeting secretly with White House aide Edwin Meese to draw up comprehensive plans to eliminate restrictions imposed on the CIA and FBI because of abuses disclosed during the Watergate period.

Reagan was obsessed with covert operations. Newspaper and television teams reported in March 1981 that Latin American exiles were being trained in guerrilla tactics in Florida and California for the purpose of returning to their own countries and overthrowing the governments there. It was no secret that Cubans have been training commandos in this country ever since the ill-fated Bay of Pigs even though federal law prohibits such activity.

Other reports told of as many as 50 Americans training terrorists on Libyan soil under the supervision of former CIA agents. The report quoted a confidential report that said: "The United States, in effect, has be-

come a major supplier of [military] hardware and technology in support of worldwide terrorism. Former CIA personnel, military special-forces personnel and U.S. corporations combined to supply products and expertise to whomever can pay the price."

As always, there would be bogus documents to prove the need for violence—just as in the "riot" at Warner Brothers in the 1940s and Reagan's "secret document" then. Now it would be a "White Paper." The story began only three days after the inauguration with a newspaper column by Cord Meyer, a former CIA official. He wrote that he had seen "damaging proof" that the Soviets were shipping arms to Salvadoran rebels through Cuba and Nicaragua.

The charges, which may have been leaked to Meyer, did not set a fire in the news corps, perhaps because such accusations were familiar in the world of Latin American politics. Virtually the same story was published two weeks later in the *New York Times*, which said it had "obtained" secret documents captured from the rebels, documents providing the Communist connections. An avalanche of similar reports followed, with bits of information added by State Department officials ready to help.

With the stage thus set, the department released an eight-page summary of the "secret" papers, which was gobbled up by a largely unquestioning press. While editorial writers and commentators were reacting with predictable horror at the "news," few reporters attempted to check the authenticity of the government documents.

It wasn't until April that John Dinges of the Pacific News Service, a small independent organization, did so. He reported numerous errors in translation and other information refuting State Department statements. Similar revelations were reported by Christopher Wener of the *London Times*, who found the alleged Communist weapons were barely enough to supply one brigade for a week and were largely homemade or relics of World War I. The *Los Angeles Times* picked up Dinges's story, but it didn't get wide play.

It wasn't until June 8 that this side of the story final-

ly received widespread attention. It came when the *Wall Street Journal* quoted Jon Glassman, the State Department's author of the original summary. He acknowledged numerous "mistakes" in translation and some "misleading" statements by American officials.

In these first months the entire four-year term was rehearsed and prefigured. We know, from the late Alfred Bloomingdale, how the Administration had been delegated and recruited while the President-elect was busy playing his dangerous games.

From the 47th floor of the Arco Plaza Towers in Los Angeles more than a dozen members of his Kitchen Cabinet voluntarily pitched in to help pick a federal Cabinet. "Our biggest value," Bloomingdale told *Washington Post* reporter Martin Schram, "has been in getting names. I'm not talking about a few. I'm talking about thousands of names from our business and social contacts throughout the United States. We each called our friends."

Thus, Reagan sowed the wind while his "friends" implemented "The Creative Society." First, however, the economy would be bled by unemployment, and the national wealth would shift dramatically upward. Again, economist Milton Friedman was their guru.

Because Reagan had been elected on a platform of obvious lies, his ruling council felt that they had an active responsibility not to tell the public the truth, even as they perceived it. In order to fill the governing void created by his own affable, sincere, anti-intellectual demagoguery, Reagan inevitably selected several profoundly arrogant, cynical and brilliant schemers who have an abiding contempt for the easily misled populace.

Alfred Bloomingdale, for instance, would be appointed to the most sensitive "National Intelligence Advisory Board" at the apex of the national-security structure. Reagan would appoint him despite the known fact that Bloomingdale was a completely compromised sex offender and had been for years.

The entire civil-rights safety net must be shredded; so who should be appointed as the regime's token Negro? Samuel R. Pierce Jr., a millionaire whom both the FBI and the CIA had groomed to replace Dr. Martin

Luther King Jr. "after his death," to quote a 1967 CIA document. The shameful FBI documents include the orders to take "[King] off his pedestal . . . so that he . . . no longer will be deceiving and misleading the Negro people." At this point the confused Negro people "will be left without a national leader of sufficiently compelling personality to steer them in the proper direction. . . . Who would steer the 20 million Negroes away from communism . . . it would be most helpful to have a man like Pierce leading the Negroes to whom we could go, if necessary, and rely upon in sensitive matters." Pierce has a military-intelligence background.

The Reagan planning team had other priorities; human rights and civil rights would have to wait. We now know how a vast program of subversion and covert action was unleashed in Central America and the Caribbean, according to U.N. sources.

Washington, for example, has been waging chemical and biological war against Cuba. The U.N. charged that the CIA infected Cuban pigs with African swine fever in the early 1970s and again in the early 1980s. It accused the United States of introducing mosquitoes that carry bleeding dengue into Cuba in 1981. As a result, the U.N. said hundreds of thousands became ill, and many children died of the disease.

Besides this example of infamy, Casey's CIA was deeply involved in Africa, trying to destabilize a democratically elected Socialist government in Zimbabwe. All this and more was going on despite the loud cries at William Casey's outrageous financial profiting from inside CIA information. Joseph Kraft, calling him the "preposterous" Casey, wrote in his national column that there is no big mystery about Casey. He is the fellow who "hustled" papers bearing on the ITT scandal out of his office when he was chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission. "He is the fellow who was sloppy in giving details about private holdings during his confirmation as director of the Central Intelligence Agency. He is the fellow who named a political crony to take charge of covert activities for the CIA. He is the fellow who insists on maintaining a private stock portfolio while serving as head of the agency. And he is the fellow

who is prepared to use the CIA as a screen for operations in Central America that cannot pass muster with Congress."

The new Reagan White House knew no shame. It began by pardoning FBI agents convicted of masterminding massive illegal searches and seizures. Meese and Reagan pardoned the agents immediately after the inauguration. The Reagan men then set out to destroy human-rights protection by trying to appoint a man, Ernest Lefever, who thinks, according to Anthony Lewis in the *New York Times*, that "we should say nothing when Argentine Jews are tortured by officers wearing Nazi emblems."

Men who were on record pledging to destroy the agencies and departments they were sworn to protect—as well as to police the public's health and welfare—were appointed to head exactly those agencies and departments. Anthony Lewis, in the *New York Times*, cites fox after fox in hen house after hen house, concluding:

And there is, not least, the secretary of the interior, James G. Watt. He was a principal figure in the so-called Sagebrush Rebellion, seeking to end the federal government's historic ownership of public lands. As secretary, he has quickly moved to open those lands to more development and mining.

The blithe way in which such appointees propose to turn their offices inside out is like something out of Orwell. In 1984 the Ministry of Truth was in charge of official lying. Its headquarters displayed the party slogans:

WAR IS PEACE

FREEDOM IS SLAVERY

IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH

President Reagan is called a conservative. But it is hardly conservative to take government offices designed for particular functions and use them, with casual audacity, for an opposite purpose. True conservatives are not in favor of government by shortcut. They respect process.

What is happening is anti-conservative in another sense. The areas of policy that are being transformed involve lasting values. If national forests are cut and our air and water despoiled, the damage may be permanent; the words *conservation* and *conservative* come from the same root. If the United States lines itself up with the torturers of the earth, that will matter for a long time.

Social critic Eve Pell has outlined, with a lucid sureness, the pattern of both the disruption and deception of the public trust by the regime:

★The Agriculture Department, which had planned to publish a pamphlet on nutrition called *Food / 2* (a sequel to a very popular publication about diet), deleted eight pages of a section on fats and cholesterol. According to the Center for Science in the Public Interest, meat and egg producers, who were upset over mild warnings about excessive fat consumption, lobbied the office of Agriculture Secretary John Block to stop giving dietary advice.

★Secretary of Energy James Edwards ordered 12,000 copies of the Energy Department's January 1982 issue of *Energy Consumer* magazine locked up following a complaint by Idaho Senator James McClure that his constituents called it an "anti-nuclear handbook."

★Following the recommendation of the Reagan Office of Management and Budget, the Senate freed oil companies from the requirements of the Energy Department's financial reporting system, which disclosed information about their high profits and low taxes (an average of only about 19%).

★The Energy Department did not print its annual mileage-comparison chart for 1983 cars, a publication that has been required annually since 1976.

★The National Highway Safety Traffic Administration (NHSTA), in a reversal of policy under the Reagan Administration, decided not to inform the public every time it orders a recall of defective cars.

★The NHSTA proposed the elimination of a three-year-old rule that requires tire manufacturers to give consumers more information about the durability of tires.

★Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis stopped free radio and television public-service messages about the *Car Book*, which compiled the results of government auto-safety and mileage tests for consumers. Calling the book anti-industry, Lewis decided not to reprint it, when—despite his opposition—more than 1.5 million copies had been requested and the supply completely exhausted.

★The Veterans Administration under Reagan revised a pamphlet issued under Carter about the effects of the herbicide Agent Orange, widely used during the Vietnam War. The new version, in contrast to the old, fails to name the various diseases linked with the herbicide and describes those links as "only a theory."

★Thorne Auchter, assistant secretary of labor for the Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OHSA), issued a memo forbidding OHSA employees from transmitting information to Congress without prior approval.

★Following orders from Auchter, two publications and a poster listing the hazards of cotton dust were withdrawn and destroyed because they "no longer represent agency policy." The poster said: "Cotton dust can destroy your lungs." Auchter at the same time ordered the withdrawal from circulation of three films and three slide shows about the role of OHSA and unions in promoting workers' health and welfare.

★Labor Secretary Ray Donovan withdrew the proposed OHSA standard giving workers the right to know what hazardous substances their employers are using in the workplace.

★The Department of Health and Human Services scuttled a three-year pilot project conceived by the Carter Administration that would have required pharmacists to provide consumers with leaflets about Darvon, Valium and eight other medications. The leaflets would have described possible side effects of the drugs.

★Jim Sibbison, who was a public-information officer with the Environmental Protection Agency from 1970 to 1980, wrote an article in the *Nation* about his experience:

From 1970, when the agency was established, until about a year after Ronald Reagan's election, I was involved in the disclosures and, yes, the deceptions of the EPA Press Office. The latter occurred during the Nixon, Ford and Carter administrations, but their incidence increased dramatically when the Reagan team took over. The new Administration introduced heavy censorship of EPA news releases, and soon the deceptions outnumbered the disclosures.

Someone in the administrator's office (which reviews all press releases before they are disseminated) crossed out "sterility" and substituted "adverse health effects." The reference to cancer was deleted.

Soon after that, all references to cancer and hazards to pregnant women were purged from a draft of a news release about protecting workers from radiation. On another occasion I proposed making public an EPA finding that people using creosote and other cancer-causing wood preservatives should wear protective clothing. . . . After a while I simply stopped mentioning cancer, birth defects and damage to genes. As a colleague of mine said, "The administrator's office will take the words out anyway." But without reference to those things, my news releases had little point.

★Allegedly in the name of economy, the Office of Management and Budget ordered the Environmental Protection Agency to ban from distribution 68 publications on such topics as acid rain and carbon-monoxide pollution.

★The President's Council on Environmental Quality issued a statistical report on progress in curbing environmental degradation, but took extraordinary and expensive steps to see that it received no publicity. The press release accompanying the report even ran contrary to its findings in several ways: For example, while the press release applauded a substantial decrease in the rate of oil-spill incidents in the U.S. since 1970, the report's charts showed the opposite. And the director of the Housing and Urban Development Department rescinded a 1979 requirement that people using HUD financing to buy houses within ten miles of Rocky Flats, Colorado, be warned of the plant's existence and be given a pamphlet outlining state plans in case of a nuclear disaster there.

★An EPA pathologist with almost 20 years of experience was demoted after he wrote his superiors a 48-page memo accusing them of illegally aiding an insecticide he regarded as a "potent carcinogen."

★The EPA reduced requirements on the asbestos industry so it no longer has to keep records of customer lists and monitoring data.

★The EPA proposed exempting a wide range of chemicals from the full premanufacture notification

previously required.

★The Justice Department and the Forestry Service have refused to turn over to Congress results of an investigation into antitrust and price-fixing activities in the lumber industry.

★The Drug Enforcement Administration has grown so secretive under the Reagan Administration that Comptroller General Charles Bowsher wrote the President saying he might have to take the agency to court in order to obtain data needed to fulfill his watchdog responsibilities in making reports available.

★The Justice Department refused to turn over documents about a controversial Presidential advisory board to a Congressional committee that had requested them.

★The Treasury Department has denied data to an interagency intelligence committee studying possible OPEC retaliation against the U.S., as well as to a Congressional committee. Treasury, however, informed the Saudis about Congressional requests for information.

★Senior staffers in the Interior Department, then headed by Secretary Watt, were warned they could be fired for injudicious comments to reporters before the November elections.

A policy of secrecy and lies, to hide from view the official violence against the public, had reached staggering proportions.

* * *

The truth is that Americans must choose between two drastically different points of view. One puts its faith in the pipe dreamers and margin scribblers in Washington; the other believes in the collective wisdom of the people and their commitment to the American dream. One says tax and tax, spend and spend, and the other says have faith in the common sense of the people. The other side believes the solutions to our nation's problems lie in the psychiatrist's notes or in the social worker's file or in the bureaucrat's budget. We believe in the workman's toil, the businessman's enterprise and the clergyman's counsel.

—"The Speech" from *It Can't Happen Here*,
by Sinclair Lewis

Their convictions grew out of their good-faith belief that their actions were necessary to preserve the security interests of their country. The record demonstrates that they acted not with criminal intent, but in the belief that they had grants of authority reaching to the highest levels of government. America was at war in 1972, and Messrs. Felt and Miller followed procedures they believed essential to keep the Director of the FBI, the Attorney General and the President of the United States advised of the activities of hostile foreign powers and their collaborators in this country. They have never denied their actions, but, in fact, came forward to acknowledge them publicly in order to relieve their subordinate agents from criminal actions. . . .

—"The Speech" from *Where's the Rest of Me?*,
by Ronald Reagan

* * *

The plan was working. As Laurence Barrett reported in his *Gambling With History*, "The liberal elite whom Reagan so often used as a foil raged all the more when success sanctified Reagan's skills."

The critic Mark Crispin Miller, in an essay on Reagan's video persona, spoke for many opponents when he wrote: "Reagan is 'nice' as Iago is 'honest'—that is, he is extraordinarily adept at affecting tones and postures which people trust without thinking. . . . Reagan is considered 'nice,' not because he is nice, but in part because his image answers (temporarily) the emotional needs of quite a few Americans who, tired of feeling cynical about their leaders, will swallow anything. . . . Reagan's image goes down easy, calming his audience with sweet inversions of the truth."

Thus, the electorate did not know that, as Barrett learned, Moscow had sent unmistakable signals that it wanted to start doing serious business with the new crowd in Washington. Its experienced Ambassador, Anatoly Dobrynin—obviously under instructions from home—had opened communications three weeks before Alexander Haig's appointment as Secretary of State was announced. Dobrynin met twice with Richard Allen—on November 25 and December 5—for extended conversations over lunch. Memorandums summarizing those talks remained buried; it would have been inconvenient to indicate just how eager the Soviet regime was to begin negotiations.

The same was true of Cuba's willingness to negotiate. But men like Allen had not come to power to solve problems peacefully. This was to be the time of the "dirty war," as torture and covert actions had been called in the 1950s. And the war drums began to beat: KGB plots against the Pope, KGB/Libyan hit teams—and, while the public is looking the other way, sneak in and try to overthrow governments in Grenada, Belize, Nicaragua, Angola, etc.

To do all this it was mandatory to stop the truth from "leaking" out to the American people. At the Justice Department, the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency systematic efforts began soon after Inauguration Day to dam the flow of information. Leaks weren't the issue in these situations. Rather, these agencies attempted, with some success, to alter established procedures under which scholars and journalists could gain access to documentary material. At the CIA, Director William Casey drastically restricted the practice of providing special briefings for reporters or others who demonstrated a legitimate need for information.

Even more important than plugging official leaks was cutting off media-initiated stories. Reagan chronicler Barrett reveals how the White House learned that CBS was preparing a special on poverty under Reaganomics; the network intended to show the faces of the poor who were collapsing in "South Succotash" (Reagan's fictional town for welfare cheats). So the Reagan media team found a mole at CBS and procured the names of the poverty-stricken individuals whom CBS intended to interview on camera, the ones who did not consider ketchup a vegetable. No one has learned what was done with the names of those people.

* * *

As 1981 passed, Reagan continued to make revealing appointments and decisions. Example: Peter M. Lopez, a Cuban-born lawyer and major contributor to President Reagan and Florida Senator Paula Hawkins, was recommended by the chairman of the Florida GOP to head the Immigration and Naturalization Service. He was under investigation for immigration fraud. He was

arrested (and then released) for conspiracy to commit extortion. In 1979 the Florida Bar found that he had solicited false testimony in a civil case.

Because Lopez was something of an embarrassment, Senator Hawkins and Reagan were quick to suggest an alternative—Norman Braman—to head the INS. This second choice was a defendant in a \$1-billion bankruptcy suit by trustees of the failed Westgate, California, conglomerate of C. Arnholt Smith, the notorious Nixon-connected financier whose ties to the Mob were documented by numerous investigative reports in the early 1970s.

Passing over the nomination of William Casey for the moment, despite *his* long ties to organized crime, we come to William McCann. Casey was responsible for McCann's nomination as Ambassador to Ireland. McCann was president of Foundation Life Insurance Company and the employer of a convicted swindler named Oster. In addition, he himself was convicted of tax evasion, as well as embezzlement from a Teamster pension fund, and in 1973 was convicted along with New York mobster John Dioguardi for stock fraud.

In an unrelated appointment, Reagan named Maxwell Rabb as Ambassador to Italy. The appointment attracted no press attention; yet Rabb's dubious connections suggest a continuing pattern of involvement with figures close to mobster Meyer Lansky.

Then there was the ugly incident involving identified neo-fascists at the "Liberty Lobby" (long a supporter of Reagan from the John Birch days). Liberty Lobby suffered a setback when its former chief counsel, Warren Richardson, had to withdraw from Reagan's appointment of him as assistant secretary of legislation in the Department of Health and Human Resources. As Liberty Lobby's representative, Richardson used to meet every Friday with some 40 conservative spokesmen known as "The Kingston Group" in the office of Paul Weyrich, founder of the Heritage Foundation and head of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress. Various Jewish groups complained because of Liberty Lobby's anti-Semitic tendencies and its denial that the Holocaust ever took place.

You and I have a rendezvous with destiny. We can preserve for our children this the last best hope of man on Earth or we can sentence them to take the first step into a thousand years of darkness. If we fail, at least let our children and our children's children say of us we justified our brief moment here. We did all that could be done.

—"The Speech" from *Where's the Rest of Me?*,
by Ronald Reagan

Buzz and buzz and hail the Chief,
And his five-pointed sta-ar,
The U.S. ne'er can come to grief
With us prepared for wa-ar.

—"The Speech" from *It Can't Happen Here*,
by Sinclair Lewis

* * *

After the Reagan victory the *New York Daily News* reported that former President Nixon held an intimate lunch for his closest friends at his rambling home in New Jersey. Among those attending were Baron Guy de Rothschild, Bebe Rebozo, Arnaud de Borchgrave (co-author of *The Spike*), Empress Farah Pahlavi, French industrialist Paul Louis Weiller and J. Peter Grace (a tycoon and longtime CIA benefactor). Weiller, a confidant of both Nixon and Reagan, has been called the brain behind the "French Connection" drug traffic. He is also a recipient of the Grand Cross of Merit of the Order of Malta. Grace is a member of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, along with Casey, Allen, Buckley, Haig, et al. The Empress Farah's sister-in-law is a known heroin trafficker, as are most of Bebe Rebozo's nephews.

Not reported were the names of other guests attending—members of Reagan's inner circle of supporters. The Nixon luncheon was a gaudy symbol of the White House-crime connection that has been growing steadily since the assassination of President Kennedy. Reagan, as we have seen, turned early to criminals and crime unions in his crusade against "Communist influences."

Here are a few items pertinent to the "Reagan Connection."

★A Los Angeles deputy city attorney has charged

that L.A. businessman Robert M. Terry, currently the subject of a tax investigation by the U.S. Organized Crime Strike Force in L.A., met regularly with White House counselor Ed Meese. Terry was also alleged to be involved in international gun sales and attempts to supply Argentina with "war helicopters" during the Falklands war. Terry attracted the interest of law-enforcement officials with his deals with Dunes casino owner Morris Shenker and other alleged Mob associates. He was invited to the White House and photographed with Nancy Reagan.

★Moe Dalitz, former proprietor of the Desert Inn and before that a Lansky gambling partner, was scheduled to receive the Torch of Liberty Award from the Anti-Defamation League (and a personal call from the President). That canceled when word leaked.

★Clifford Jones, former Nevada lieutenant governor who ran with Lansky and the Dalitz Mob, owns gambling interests in Sri Lanka and has just purchased a casino near Athens. Jones has been a White House guest.

★The DEA is investigating the possibility that a man accused of drug smuggling in New York led a failed invasion of Albania. The suspect, Zhevdet Mustafa, filed a \$1-million bond set for a drug-related arrest in November 1981. Mustafa, a supporter of Leka I, son of the exiled fascist King Zog, may have controlled a cocaine- and heroin-processing lab in Colombia and was reported to have close associates among both Turkish and Italian ethnic criminal elements in the United States. Albania accused him of leading an infiltration of the country on September 25, 1982. Mustafa was, of course, a CIA contract agent.

★Alfred Pilotto, 72, president of Chicago Local 5 of the Laborers International Union, was given a 20-year sentence for a kickback scheme that looted \$2 million from the union's benefits fund. Pilotto and other union executives supported Reagan.

★William Saxbe, former Nixon attorney general, has been appointed special counsel to the Teamsters Central States Pension Fund, with the blessings of Labor Secretary Donovan.

★In the *Washington Post*, Jack Anderson complained

that the Justice Department "isn't seizing the assets of notorious drug traffickers following their convictions." A General Accounting Agency report requested by Senator Biden confirmed the charge.

★Former U.S. Attorney General Richard Kleindienst was indicted on 14 counts of perjury in Arizona, stemming from his testimony in hearings held after the Arizona Department of Insurance agreed to settle a suit arising from the alleged milking of \$7 million from a Teamster health-and-welfare fund. Kleindienst is a key Reagan organizer in the Southwest.

The White House propaganda machine was cranked up. Like Nixon before him, Reagan declared "war on drugs." He announced the formation of still another commission to "destroy the Mob." Reagan appointed Judge Irving Kaufman to head the new crime task force. It was Judge Kaufman who, we now know, colluded with the Justice Department to arrive at a death penalty for the Rosenbergs in the great show trial of the 1950s.

Next, Reagan had somehow to politicize the drug problem because Nixon had demonstrated that there are votes in it. If only crime and communism could be linked inseparably, that would solve all problems—political and moral. A miracle was needed. Enter Arnaud de Borchgrave and Robert Moss. When last seen, de Borchgrave was lunching at the Nixon party, and Robert Moss was guiding the New Right to the moles in the media, the government, Chile, Mrs. Thatcher's England, etc., etc. The miracle they brought the President was a new novel, *Based on Fact*. Study the advertising:

Only the authors of THE SPIKE could have written

MONIMBO

Code name for a deadly plan to destroy America from within . . . So explosive it can only be told as fiction!

In their first sensational worldwide best-seller *The Spike*, Robert Moss and Arnaud de Borchgrave showed how the Soviet KGB has infiltrated the American media. Now these two new masters of suspense take you behind the headlines again—in an explosive story involving Mafia dons, the glamorous jet-set world of big-time narcotics, the treacherous power game of political terrorism, and a daring conspiracy that could bring America to its knees.

So now we have the President posing in South Florida with "captured Communist narcotics." This sickening attempt to use a desperate American problem for ideological purposes is the last straw, morally, for that brand of "anti-communism" that inevitably associates itself with organized crime and its coverup.

In point of fact, the narcotics pouring into Florida can now be traced to Robert Vesco, the notorious swindler who has employed a number of men close to Reagan. NBC broke the story.

Millionaire fugitive financier Robert Vesco, who fled the United States to avoid prosecution, heads a major drug-distribution empire on a seldom-visited island in the Bahamas, protected by top government officials, NBC News reported. NBC quoted from a Justice Department intelligence report stating that a Vesco associate has been "allegedly paying approximately \$100,000 per month to Bahamian officials including the prime minister."

Other sources stated that the *American* Embassy was leading the coverup of the Vesco connection, and that the payoffs also were going to *American* officials.

These charges have come during a psychological-warfare campaign being waged by the Administration against Cuba and Nicaragua. Reagan's men have, at various times, aired spurious allegations against China, Cuba, Allende's Chile and Panama to influence public opinion. According to former CIA agent Manuel de Armas, who defected to Cuba and held a press conference in Havana in April 1976, the CIA hoped to blacken Cuba's image abroad by planting information to link the Castro government to drug traffickers. According to de Armas, this was pure disinformation.

In this light the Moss/de Borchgrave "novel" takes on a more disingenious color. Reagan has now used three books by these men as primers for his propaganda blitz.

By 1984 he would add a British film, *The Final Option*, to his arsenal of lies. According to the *Los Angeles*

Times, Reagan and Alexander Haig intervened to assure the film an aggressive marketing campaign. The plot: Anti-nuclear fanatics controlled by the Soviet KGB terrorize an embassy and must be eliminated "Garden Plot" style by British counterinsurgency teams trained in the style of Reagan's counterrevolutionary expert from his gubernatorial days, Sir Robert Thompson.

The film's producer announced that *The Final Option* has Reagan's complete backing because the movie will "help to counteract the anti-authority, pro-pacifist messages of films like *The China Syndrome*, *Gandhi*, *Missing* and *War Games*." It has been suggested that President Kennedy quietly supported the film *Seven Days in May* because he feared a fascist takeover of the country. Ronald Reagan, in the name of antiterrorism, has done the opposite.

Reagan's is a propaganda administration unlike any that came before. He has appointed men like the Buckley brothers, who have been named in courts, hearings and studies as intelligence "agents of influence." The term is imprecise but an example will clarify: According to the *Boston Globe*, Marvin Liebman, an extremist organizer active with William F. Buckley in countless anti-Communist front groups (including the American Chilean Council, which acted as an unregistered lobbyist for the Pinochet junta), was hired by the Education Department as a consultant to the department's magazine, *American Education*."

The Reagan regime, based on the record, is a nest of spies.

* * *

Never in my life have I been so deeply concerned with the future of this great nation. *America is in serious trouble*. And now I must decide whether I should be silent—and let the freeze-niks destroy this country. . . .

—"The Speech" from *Where's the Rest of Me?*,
by Ronald Reagan

* * *

The most outrageous assault on individual freedom was begun by the Reagan Administration in January 1981, joined by the forces of the new political and religious Right. This coalition set out to put a stop to teenage sex by requiring federally funded family-planning clinics to notify parents of any birth-control prescriptions or devices prescribed for their teenage daughters.

The Administration also quickly introduced sweeping new executive orders and regulations to:

- strip federal funds from any organization that engages in "advocacy," even including providing expert testimony before Congress or in the courts.
- stop anti-nuclear activists by requiring an Academy Award-winning Canadian film, *If You Love This Planet* (which was filmed in the U.S.), to be labeled "foreign political propaganda." If you want to show the film, your name and that of your group must be turned over to the Justice Department.
- impose the Export Control Act to censor scientists and educators by forcing them to submit their papers to the government for pre-publication clearance, even though *the information is not classified*.
- require government employees to submit *anything* they plan to write or speak about for preclearance, *even after they stop working for the government*.

This inventory is based on an ACLU position paper. The Reagan response belonged to Ed Meese: "The ACLU represents criminals."

What follows is the anatomy of a covert action for *less than one month* of the Reagan regime. The year is 1983, but it could almost have been selected at random from 1980 to 1984.

Wednesday, May 11—It is revealed that the U.S. Defense Department set up a clandestine spy mission in Central America that was kept secret even from the oversight committees in Congress.

Sunday, May 22—Speaking on *Face the Nation*, Senator Barry Goldwater, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, calls for using the U.S. Air Force and combat troops in Central America.

In a *Washington Post* interview, Lieutenant General Wallace Nutting, head of the U.S. Southern Command based in Panama, calls for "an open-ended U.S. commitment" to defeat the popular movements in Central America, including massive amounts of military aid, advisers and even U.S. troops.

Monday, May 23—The *New York Times* reports that CIA Director William Casey and Thomas O. Enders, then-assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, told Congressional committees in secret sessions that they expect the government of Nicaragua to be overthrown this year.

Tuesday, May 24—The *New York Times* reports that Howard Air Force Base in Panama is being used as a staging area for arms shipments to El Salvador and covert intelligence missions in Central America. Panamanian leaders charge that American reconnaissance planes are flying daily armed surveillance missions from Panama over nations in Central America.

Wednesday, May 25—Commander Albert A. Schaufelberger, deputy commander of the U.S. Military Group in El Salvador, becomes the first U.S. soldier to be killed in that country. He was assigned to advise the Salvadoran Navy Command as a member of the Seals, an elite Navy group similar to the Army's Green Berets.

Friday, May 27—The *New York Times* reports that the Reagan Administration got the okay from the Honduran government to triple the number of U.S. military advisers there and to open a new

training base for Salvadoran soldiers. This was a means to circumvent Congress's mandate to station no more than 55 advisers in El Salvador.

Saturday, May 28—The *Washington Post*, in a story titled "White House Moves to Toughen Latin Policy," reports that the Reagan Administration will send 100 U.S. military advisers to a new Honduran base next month to train 2,400 Salvadoran troops.

The *New York Times* reports that Thomas O. Enders, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, will be replaced for not being "hard-line enough" on Central America. (Enders orchestrated the secret bombing of Cambodia in the 1970s.) Deane Hinton, U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador, is also to be replaced. (Hinton worked with the CIA in Chile.)

Sunday, May 29—The *Philadelphia Inquirer* runs a front-page story titled "How U.S. Advisers Run the War in El Salvador." It reports on the top-level role being played by American advisers in the Salvadoran military who are making crucial decisions about the "conduct of the war." The article states that the American officers' activities as "strategists, tacticians and planners" directly violate U.S. policy guidelines, which state that American advisers are not to become directly involved in the conflict. U.S. staff officers are "in effect conducting combat operations," the article claims. Four U.S. military officers meet daily with Salvadoran military chiefs of staff to map out strategy.

The *New York Times* reports that forces hostile to the Nicaraguan government aided by the CIA are making forays into Nicaragua from Honduras. (They were trained in the U.S.)

Tuesday, May 31—ABC News' *Nightline* reveals that the U.S. government plotted "a covert operation aimed at overthrowing the sovereign government of Surinam" and gave as a major reason the visit to that country by Maurice Bishop, Prime Min-

ister of Grenada. (Bishop was killed in the takeover of Grenada that precipitated the U.S. invasion in October 1983.)

Wednesday, June 1—The *New York Times* reports that the plan to overthrow Colonel Bouterse of Surinam was sponsored by the CIA and called for the formation of a small paramilitary force to oust the government.

Friday, June 3—The *New York Times* reports that President Reagan is considering increasing U.S. involvement in Central America and is reviewing a proposal to expand U.S. military activity in Honduras beyond 100 advisers. Meantime, Cuban exile terrorists are rehired by the CIA to join the "Contras" in Honduras.

Saturday, June 4—The *New York Times* reports that General Gustavo Alvarez, chief of the Honduran military, will visit Washington in a week for talks with the Administration about a larger U.S. role in his country. The paper also reports that the Honduran military, at U.S. request, has served as a conduit for U.S. funds and arms going to forces opposing the Nicaraguan government and that Honduras has been used as a base for shipping equipment to El Salvador.

Enough. The cumulative impact of the whole retrograde decision-making process of this regime is much greater than the sum of its secret parts. 1982, 1983 and 1984 became predictable extensions of the pre-election plan.

With mounting concern the moderate Establishment watched Reagan come back to the Congress again and again to try to slip open racists into every agency or appointed body, from human rights to the Board of International Broadcasting (where Republicans and Democrats alike had to appeal to the White House to withdraw the name of one Thomas Ellis, who had distributed racist campaign literature).

It caused little surprise when the *Associated Press*, in 1982, moved a story about how happy the KKK was with the President.

"Praising President Reagan for 'Klan-like statements,' Ku Klux Klan leader Bill Wilkinson told a crowd of about 220 people Saturday, 'We've got the ball going our way now.'"

Actually, the President has denounced the KKK by name. Yet the extremists with whom Reagan had worked over the decades hold vastly more power than the men in white sheets. Reagan has always collaborated with monied rightists and racists, not poor or working-class bigots like the Klan.

So race continued to shadow the President as it had since he first ran on the issue in 1966. With racism goes corruption in the new, rich culture of Ronald Reagan. In 1983 the *Los Angeles Times* reported that:

... top White House advisers Edwin Meese III and Michael K. Deaver received \$118,000 in loans in 1981 that were arranged by their California tax accountant at a time they were getting the accountant a \$10,000-a-year Presidential appointment to the U.S. Postal Service's board of governors. . . . Meese and Deaver have indicated that their White House service has caused them financial hardship. They are each paid \$69,800 a year.

■ Later in the year the *Times* reported further that:

White House counsel Fred F. Fielding has warned senior Presidential aides to maintain an "arms-length relationship" with new Teamsters President Jackie Presser on grounds that he is under active investigation by the Labor Department in a major union embezzlement case. Administration officials have disclosed.

They said that as a result of this warning, Presser—who is far and away the most important labor figure in the Reagan camp, to the point of having been honored here by Secretary of Labor Raymond J. Donovan and senior White House officials at a private dinner in Georgetown on June 20—will no longer be invited to the White House for state dinners or other social events.

But White House officials said the Administration will continue to maintain close political ties with the Teamsters and to consult with Presser.

■ The list of deceptions is numbing: Racism, crime and covert actions, at home and abroad, are a way of life.

Someplace a perversion has taken place. Our natural unalienable rights are now presumed to be a dispensation of government, divisible by a vote of the majority. The greatest good for the greatest number is a high-sounding phrase but contrary to the very basis of our nation, unless it is accompanied by recognition that we have certain rights which cannot be infringed upon, even if the individual stands outvoted by all of his fellow citizens. Without this recognition, majority rule is nothing more than mob rule.

—"The Speech" from *Where's the Rest of Me?*,
by Ronald Reagan

* * *

Does the long list of filthy tricks and public lies add up to anything more than a crackpot cowboy aberration? Is there, finally, a coherent shape to the decades of betrayal and opportunism? Is there a plan that we must confront, after the throaty chords of "The Speech" have stopped at last?

The master plan was tried out in California. Reagan took money from the state budget in order to finance a private campaign to support ballot measures that would have deeply altered the tax structure of the state. However, economist and historian Bryan W. Stevens brought a taxpayers suit that aborted the plan. In 1980 the court ruled:

... in favor of plaintiff and respondent. It is a taxpayers action in which respondent Stevens alleged and proved that defendants illegally converted public funds taken from various social service departments and used these funds and the services of employees of those departments for the promotion of an initiative measure placed on the ballot. It was alleged and proved that none of the subject monies paid were budgeted for the purposes for which they were spent, that there was no legal authorization for the use of these funds. . . .

The vehicle for the measure in question had been a network of fronts with close ties to the John Birch Society. The master plan was not dead. After the 1980 election a new edition was unfolded, one that beggars the California draft: The name of the plan is the President's Private Sector Survey on Cost Controls (PPSS). It is chaired by the tycoon J. Peter Grace. Joe Conason and

Martin H. Rosenblatt of the *Village Voice* have written that since the PPSS was organized last spring, the survey has undertaken, in as much secrecy as it could manage, what Reagan calls "the largest effort of its kind ever mounted to save tax dollars and improve the working of government." Its size and comprehensiveness are not disputed. With some 1,200 people working full- and part-time, the PPSS is probably one of the largest advisory commissions in American history.

The *Voice* learned, in its far-ranging coverage, that as soon as Reagan was installed, his highest aides (especially the ultra-conservative Edwin Meese III) began to discuss with Grace and his aides the next phase of the counterrevolution. Toward that end:

- Thirteen members of the EPA task force are employed by Diamond Shamrock Corporation, and executives from that oil, chemical and plastics giant are also serving as the task-force cochairman and project manager.

- Dow Chemical, the epicenter of the EPA toxic-waste scandal, has four members on this task force. So while Dow was refusing to allow regional EPA officials full access to its plant in Midland, Michigan, at least four Dow executives had free rein at EPA headquarters in Washington.

- Two other companies that figure in the EPA affair also have two members apiece on the task force: Union Carbide and Monsanto, chemical firms whose lobbyists appear on former superfund administrator Rita Lavelle's luncheon calendar.

- The task force was guided in its work by another departed EPA official, John Horton, the former assistant for administration to Anne Gorsuch Burford. He was dismissed after it was revealed that the Justice Department was investigating his possible abuse of authority at the agency.

- Other companies with members on the EPA task force include B.F. Goodrich (four members), Ashland Oil (two), Eastman Kodak (two), Martin Marietta (two), Ford, Firestone, Great Lakes Chemicals, Phillips Petroleum, Nalco Chemical, Shell Oil and Owens-Illinois (one apiece).

- The task force assigned to the Labor Department is cochaired by Richard Shinn of Metropolitan Life Insurance, which includes 13 of its employees. The Labor Department regulates the administration of pension, health and welfare funds, which in turn is a large segment of Metropolitan Life's business.

- Another task force wholly controlled by regulated industries is concerned with the Agriculture Department. It is cochaired by William Wood Prince, a director of W. R. Grace, and includes an executive from International Mineral and Chemical Corporation, the Grace Company's partner in a major Florida phosphate-mining venture. Other members of this task force hail from Quaker Oats, Kraft, General Foods (the nation's three largest grain and feedlot corporations) and Deere & Company, one of the two largest manufacturers of farming equipment.

- One task force is simply called "Business-Related Boards and Commissions." How much taxpayers' money can be saved by making the government's many regulatory bodies more efficient is questionable, but there is certainly a lot of money to be saved by industry if these bodies are hobbled. The task force members include a lobbyist from the Alliance of American Insurers, the vice-president for rates of Duke Power and several representatives of bank holding companies. But even more impressive is the array of registered lobbyists from several major law firms, whose clients have recently included the American Stock Exchange, the Grocery Manufacturers of America, the American Petroleum Institute, the National Association of Manufacturers' Subcommittee on the Federal Trade Commission and Anti-Trust, the Calorie Control Institute, the International Air Transport Association, the American Meat Institute, the Salt Institute, the Manufactured Housing Institute and even the Scotch Whiskey Institute.

- Motorola Corporation, which sells a wide variety of costly electronics equipment to the military, has a virtual lock on the Air Force task force. The company has seven employees working on it, and Motorola Chief Executive Robert Galvin is the cochairman.

As a leading member of the nation's most vocal

military-industrial lobbying and study group (the American Security Council), Galvin has strong views in favor of a rapid defense buildup, regardless of cost. In a two-month period Motorola obtained more than \$14 million in defense contracts.

There is much more, but the pattern is unmistakable: takeover of the national infrastructure at the regulatory level. If you add to this plan the regime's sabotage of the public interest through its appointment process (Watt, Donovan and the right-wing activists across the regulatory board), you have something new in American life: The unhinging of our vital system of checks and balances. In the PPSS you have a blueprint for the most extreme elements of corporate power to gain control over the legislative process. The PPSS simply is an executive veto of Congress's ability to protect the public interest. This naked corporate intervention in the democratic process is, in the *strictest* definition of the idea, a ground plan for *any modern industrial fascist state*. This is the seizure warned against by President Eisenhower in his "military-industrial complex" farewell speech to the nation.

Could Peter Grace be associated with a fascist or neo-fascist undertaking? Grace is well-known to students of power. His biography includes:

- ★Leadership in the Knights of Malta, the secret rightist Catholic organization aligned with covert operations worldwide.

- ★A foundation that funds such fronts as the Heritage Foundation and Western Goals. The Heritage is a "member" of the PPSS.

- ★Leading light in the CIA's labor subversion of Central and South America. The Grace Companies were the CIA's vehicle in its hemispheric destabilization and covert violence. Grace and George Meany used the AFL-CIO as well, and called the huge illegal project the Alliance of Free Labor.

Finally, according to the *Voice*, is the Nazi connection:

The first of several CIA proprietaries to be exposed during the '60s was Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, the broadcasting agencies now

funded openly by the U.S. government. When they were established in the early '50s as part of a Cold War drive, the stations were trumpeted as private initiatives. And yet, fronting for Radio Liberty was an outfit known initially as the American Committee for Liberation From Bolshevism, and later simply as the American Committee for Liberation.

Among its high-powered trustees—in addition to J. Peter Grace—were about a dozen anti-Communist luminaries, several of whom were associated with domestic Red-baiting. At least a few, such as William Henry Chamberlain and Eugene Lyons, also had ties to *Human Events* and the *American Mercury*, the chief propaganda media for McCarthyism.

The American Committee for Liberation and Radio Liberty were not merely conduits for Western news to huddled freedom fighters but, as John Loftus argues at length in his recent book *The Belarus Secret*, mechanisms for smuggling hundreds of Nazi collaborators onto American payrolls and into American communities.

Grace has been named as an intimate of identified Nazi war criminals.

The *Voice* concludes its devastating profile of Grace—the symbol of the PPSS—by calling him “a living example of the roots of Reaganism. He is a man who looks backward fondly to the days when business was unfettered, when nobody dared to ask about hiring practices, pollution, labor rights or consumer protection. Like the business class of the '30s, which shaped his consciousness and the attitudes of so many who now call themselves ‘conservative,’ Peter Grace is still plotting against the New Deal and all of the human advances from food stamps to environmental protection that are part of its democratic tradition.

Writes the *Voice*: “His longing for the past, when plutocrats were bold, is reflected in Reaganism: Its friendliness toward fascism and fascists, its antagonism toward social spending and progressive taxation, even its dreams of the gold standard. The technology is different, the public relations more slick, but the biggest

difference between the Corporate Right then and now is that so few Americans recall some of the uglier aspects of its past. It can only call itself new because its true history remains buried."

Men such as Frawley and Grace will be with us after Reagan has left the stage. They represent the corporate state reaching through the executive, with their policies and propaganda, into every home.

We can now appreciate how far beyond Richard Nixon the Reagan regime has thrust. The PPSS plan—like the aborted California scheme before it—was in part designed by Milton Friedman. Nixon used Friedman in Chile, but never dared to unleash his war-against-the-poor theories in the United States. Reaganomics is only the beginning of the PPSS plan. Down the road, waiting, is the garrison state, the national-security state that Ronald Reagan has always called the true "Creative Society."

* * *

We need true tax reform that will at least make a start toward restoring for our children the American dream that wealth is denied to no one, that each individual has the right to fly as high as his strength and ability will take him. The economist Sumner Schlichter has said, "If a visitor from Mars looked at our tax policy, he would conclude it had been designed by a Communist spy to make free enterprise unworkable." But we cannot have such reform while our tax policy is engineered by people who view the tax as a means of achieving changes in our social structure. Senator Clark (D-Pennsylvania) says the tax issue is a class issue, and the government must use the tax to redistribute the wealth and earnings downward.

On January 15th in the White House the President told a group of citizens they were going to take all the money they thought was being unnecessarily spent, "take it from the haves and give it to the have-nots who need it so much." When Karl Marx said this he put it : . . . "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need."

Have we the courage and the will to face up to the immorality and discrimination of the progressive surtax, and demand a return to traditional proportionate taxation?

—"The Speech" from *Where's the Rest of Me?*,
by Ronald Reagan

* * *

It was a hot Washington day when Don Edwards, a ranking Democrat from California, came to his decision. Edwards, a former FBI man, was shaken into action by three events. The first, by itself, would not have moved him radically. The *Wall Street Journal* headline only caused him to shake his head in disgust: REAGAN NOMINEE FOR CRIME PANEL LINKED TO 'MOB'.

Next, the congressman turned to a Defense Intelligence Agency document, written in July 1982, discussing a "new Philippine defense attache team" dispatched to Washington to "try to expand ties between the Philippine Embassy and the U.S. Department of Defense."

The group's mission was also to "monitor anti-Marcos Philippine activists residing in the U.S.," according to the report.

"The attaches will undoubtedly report on, and possibly operate against, anti-Marcos Philippine activists in the U.S.," the brief memo concluded. He made a note to call the FBI. Then, as chairman of the Judiciary Committee's Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, Edwards opened his classified report on U.S. counterinsurgency in Central America. He knew that someone would have to say the words. Here are the passionate words as they appeared in the *New York Times*:

"Do we have any means to stop the President from waging an illegal war? On July 28 the House voted 228 to 195 to stop the invasion of Nicaragua by a mercenary army hired by the Central Intelligence Agency. President Reagan's response was, in effect, 'Try and stop me.' Congress has not yet had recourse to what undoubtedly is its most effective check on the President—the possibility of impeachment. . . .

"In Nicaragua, as in Korea, Lebanon, the Bay of Pigs, the Dominican Republic, Vietnam and Cambodia, we find ourselves involved in a war solely because of Presidential action. The Supreme Court has effectively destroyed the War Powers Act as a Congressional check on illegal Presidential wars.

"So what are we to do? I suggest a conservative return to the remedy suggested in the Constitution.

"The 1984 general-election campaign will provide an opportunity to debate the issue: Each candidate for Congress should be asked to promise that if the President violates his oath of office by unilaterally going to war against a country that has not attacked us, he will be called to account by a bill of impeachment. The election offers a chance, perhaps our last, to restate,

redefine and limit the war powers of the President according to the Constitution. If we do not, all future Presidents will be able to claim immunity for unlawful conduct of foreign affairs. We have a responsibility to draw this line in the nuclear age."

In other words, the answer to "Reaganism" is to bind the President and his men "in the chains of the Constitution" (as Jefferson put it) for they have "come between us and our country" (as Jack London warned). Yet it must be true, as always, that power will use secret acts and public lies to its own ends. Modern media may increase the ratio of the lie geometrically but it does not of itself create the lie, any more than speech because it may be the medium of the lie is, itself, the lie.

Technology—television, computers as well as nuclear energy and nuclear weapons—in the hands of men like Reagan is dangerous in the extreme. That is because they are the dead hands of the past. Thus, the crisis will not pass with their mere defeat at the polls. Public myths are timeless, freeze-dried by television. Only personal awareness can wake us up from the hypnotic trance in which most of us live our political lives. That trance is our problem, beyond Ronald Reagan. Ronald Reagan is a sleeper in our national nightmare; he will never ride away until we wake up from our bad historical dream.

America will survive; she will survive Elmer Gantry and "Buzz" Windrip, "Dutch" Reagan, The Creative Society and the Moral Majority. That is what Sinclair Lewis seemed to mean all those years ago when he confidently predicted that it would not happen here. It (fascism) has not happened—under Ronald Reagan it is *happening*, but it is also being fought, resisted and outwitted. The tactics of Americans in 1984, at the political level, resemble those of Sinclair Lewis's decent hero, Doremus Jessup.

Sinclair Lewis wrote his alarm for America before the use of nuclear weapons; still, in essence, it speaks to us at this hour. Doremus Jessup was a man not unlike Don Edwards, a small-town-newspaper editor who woke up in time.

So they marched out, the prisoners, the bent and scarred and crippled, the vacant-eyed and slobbering, who had come into

this place as erect and daring men: Doremus, Dan Wilgus, Buck, Julian, Mr. Falck, Henry Veeder, Kark Pascal, John Pollikop, Truman Webb. They crept out of the quadrangle gates, through a double line of soldiers standing rigidly at Present Arms yet weeping as they watched the broken prisoners crawling past.

And beyond the soldiers, Doremus saw the women and children. They were waiting for him—the kind arms of Lorinda and Emma and Sissy and Mary, with David behind them, clinging to his father's hand, and Father Perefixe. And Foolish was there, his tail a proud plume, and from the dream-blurred crowd came Mrs. Candy, holding out to him a coconut cake.

Then all of them were fleeing, frightened by Shad Ledue—

His host was slapping Doremus's shoulder, muttering, "Just had a phone call. Corpo posse out after you."

So Doremus rode out, saluted by the meadow larks, and onward all day, to a hidden cabin in the Northern Woods where quiet men awaited news of freedom.

And still Doremus goes on in the red sunrise, for a Doremus Jessup can never die.

The End

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Arizona Republic	Latin America Weekly Report	Richmond Times Dispatch
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Baltimore Sun	Los Angeles Herald Examiner	St. Petersburg Times
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